



THE
JOHN T. HUGHES
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 BOSTON COLLEGE.

THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
FROM
THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE UNION.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL BURDY.

*Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus, virtuti atque ejus amicis.*

HOR.

A friend to virtue, and to vice a foe,
He'd faults of rulers and of people shew.

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THE Author, soon after he had left the university, sent a letter to a fellow student, who had gone to America, containing an account of Irish affairs for a few years preceding. This letter was published in London in 1792, about seven years after it was written; and from the favourable character given of this juvenile production in the Monthly Review,* the Author was induced to undertake the present history, which, from various causes, has been long delayed. In the execution of the work he exerted great industry in endeavouring to attain the real truth, but a particular quotation of authorities would be inconsistent with the plan of an abridgment.

* Review for June 1792.

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London for June 1799.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Original inhabitants—Religion—Government—Laws—Dwellings—Morals—Food—Dress—Ollam Fodla—Kembeth—Tuathal—Nial—St. Patrick—Complete conversion—Learned and pious men—The Danes or Ostmen—Brian Beromy—Battle of Clontarffe—Last attempt of the Danes.

THE Irish antiquaries have laboured above all others CHAP. I.
to attach peculiar dignity to the country which is the object of their panegyric, and, in the ardour of their
zeal, have taken the ideal conceits of bards for true history.
Without attending to the whimsies of these, it is just necessary to mention, that Ireland was first peopled by a colony of the Celtæ, a nation, of very remote antiquity, that Original inhabitants.
spread over western Europe, whose language resembled
that used by the original Irish at present. Having extended themselves over Germany and Gaul, they passed over to Great Britain, and thence to Ireland, and, after possessing this country for many ages, were at length disturbed by the Firbolgs, a branch of the great Scythian swarm, that came over from Belgic Gaul. The Celtæ, being occupied in the chase, lived in forests; the Firbolgs, like their brethren in Germany, resided for a great part of

CHAP. I. the year in artificial caves. By these, it is supposed, some knowledge of letters was introduced, and, of course, they were considered more civilized than the others. That Ireland was, however, involved in extreme barbarism, is evident from this circumstance, that it never excited the attention of the Romans, who held the dominion of Britain for four hundred and seventy-six years. Its subjugation could have been effected, it was thought, in the time of Agricola, by a single legion and a few auxiliaries, amounting to about five thousand men.

Religion.

The religion of the people was druidism, a severe system of superstition, whose priests, termed druids, by means of excommunication and other modes of punishment, obtained supreme sway over them, and obliged them, as well in temporal as spiritual concerns, to submit to their decisions. Their peculiar doctrines were not completely divulged to the laity, nor committed to writing, but contained in verses, which were carefully treasured up in memory. It is supposed they prescribed the worship of the sun or fire, of which some relic still remains in the custom of lighting up bonfires on the eve preceding the twenty-fourth of June. Their places of worship were lonely groves, for which they had a superstitious regard; and for the oak in particular, as appears by the name of their religion,* they entertained a profound veneration. Their hierarchy consisted of a diversity of ranks, with an arch-druid, who had the principal authority. Yet, with all this solemnity, their precepts of morality were not strict, and these priests chiefly exerted their influence over their votaries in promoting temporal ends, to which they made religion subservient. Hence, in order to inspire the vulgar with courage in battle, they inculcated the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

Government.

The most ancient form of government in Ireland was a number of provincial kings, of whom one assumed, for a time, the title of monarch, exacting from the rest, when he could effect it, a kind of homage, military service, and also tribute. The number was certainly indefinite, varying according to circumstances, and was not confined to five, but extended to six, seven, or more. Each of these kings had

* Druidism is taken from *δρῦς*, quercus, an oak.

subordinate to him a variety of petty kings or princes, of whom he demanded tribute, assistance, and submission, similar to what he paid the sovereign. These petty kings had also other chieftains, or heads of inferior clans, subordinate to them, over whom they assumed the same rule. The tribute paid in all these cases was cattle and various goods. The submission, however, which each inferior, in this different gradation of rank, afforded to his superior was not uniform, but varied, being directed by caprice or convenience. The monarch, in particular, was almost constantly engaged in wars with some or other of the provincial kings, occasioned, in general, by their withholding the usual tributes. CHAP. I.

The succession to the monarchy was elective, but confined to the family of the three sons of Milesius, the imaginary hero of the bards, whose names are recorded to be Hebor, Heremon, and Amergin. To prevent, in some degree, the confusion attending on this unsettled mode, it was thought necessary to elect, during the life of the monarch, the successor, who seemed the most worthy of the same family. The person chosen was frequently the brother, uncle, or cousin-german of the reigning monarch. Successors to the provincial kings and chieftains, whom they termed *tainists*, were elected in the same manner. This mode, however, did not remedy the inconvenience, but still was the cause of violent contests and bloodshed. The person elected sometimes took up arms against the reigning monarch, and frequently both fell victims to some more potent faction. So that, out of two hundred monarchs, a hundred and seventy, it is allowed, died by premature and violent deaths. The title of each was usually the murder of the one who preceded him.

In such an unsettled state of government, laws, we may suppose, had but a feeble operation. Their laws, however, such as they were, seem not to have been committed to writing, but were transmitted through successive generations by a kind of hereditary judges called Brehons, who gave their decisions in the open air. The punishments inflicted were not suitable to the enormity of crimes, and even murder escaped with a fine or commutation called *eric*,

CHAP. I. which was usually paid to the relations of the deceased. Another law required that a man's land, on his death, or on leaving his tribe, should be equally distributed among the families of the community to which he belonged. This produced a perpetual fluctuation of property, as men's crimes, or misfortunes, frequently forced them from one tribe to another. Hence, agriculture was neglected, and industry discouraged. Yet the *mensal* land, as it was called, appropriated to the maintenance of the *tainist*, was excepted from this rule, and descended to him without diminution. The moveable effects, however, on a man's decease, were divided equally among all his sons, legitimate or not, and, on their failure, among the next male heirs, but females were totally excluded. This also operated to the discouragement of industry, since part of a man's family was prevented from enjoying the fruits of it. It is supposed, however, that the original Irish had a plurality of wives, a custom derived from the Northerners who arrived here before the second century.

Dwellings. The habitations both of princes and people were cabins made of hurdles, and plastered with clay. Eachcl an had their dwellings together, and in the middle was the residence of the chief, situated on a rising ground, and surrounded with a trench. These fortified inclosures were termed *raths*, and were of different dimensions according to the dignity of the chieftain. Here the whole clan used, in cases of emergency, to shelter themselves from danger. They were also adapted for the accommodation of travellers; and the Brehon laws required that they should not be too suddenly removed, lest these should be disappointed of their usual entertainment. Such hospitality was essentially necessary among a barbarous people, totally unacquainted with the convenience of inns. Travellers were there allowed provision by right of hospitality, but the people were obliged to support the chieftain and his attendants, who lived among them at free quarters. It was also a custom for different families to exchange children, which was called fosterage, and produced such an intimate connection among the persons thus bred up together, that they con-

sidered themselves bound to support each other in every quarrel. CHAP. I.

Acts of violence, indeed, accompanied by horrible instances of treachery and perjury, though softened now and then by some generous deeds, were too frequent among them, to which they were excited by their national music and songs, that tended, instead of alleviating, to rouse the vindictive passions of the people. The bards and musicians, who acquired great influence over them by humouring their favourite prejudices, had their professions made hereditary (as were also other professions or trades in certain families), and large portions of land appropriated to their use. They attained, it is said, the third part of the national property, which also had the advantage of not being liable to the fluctuation of other tenures. Morals.

Their land, however, was but of small benefit, since agriculture was but little understood or practised, and their chief food was milk, herbs, flesh of cattle, and particularly of wild swine, that abounded in the forests of oaks. Such diet, with bad cookery, made the leprosy very frequent among them. The little corn they had, instead of being threshed, was freed from the husk by fire, then pounded and boiled, or ground with a hand-mill, and baked in cakes, which were hardened on embers or a griddle. Their principal beverage was mead, which caused the preservation of bees to be particularly regarded by the Brehon laws. Food.

Their dress can not be settled so exactly, since it was liable to variations by the change of fashion and the introduction of foreigners. They wore a short cloak, at first of skin, and afterwards of cloth, furnished with a hood, and decorated with stripes of various colours. This short cloak was in time exchanged for a long one, and the hood for a conical cap. They also wore a jacket, and trowsers which descended to the feet; but the poorer sort of them seem to have been naked below. Their clothes were, like their sheep, of a dark colour, but their trowsers were dyed yellow, as were also their shirts, which were wide, with large folds, and sleeves of great size: one of them would take fifteen yards of yard-wide linen. The shoe was just a piece Dress.

CHAP. I. of leather tied on the foot by a thong. They wore a long beard, at least on the upper lip, and a great bunch of hair thrown over their forehead, which gave them a ferocious aspect.

A particular detail of the transactions of such barbarous people would produce neither amusement nor instruction, and, indeed, the recital of the same repeated acts of cruelty and treachery would disgust the reader with its dull uniformity. Hence no benefit would be derived from such a particular detail, even if sufficient authority could be obtained; but this really is not the case, for the knowledge we acquire of the different reigns is usually taken from poems and romances, which, though founded in reality, would afford, when embellished by the fictions of the bards, very imperfect materials for history. A sketch, however, of some of the most important reigns is necessary, in order to form a connected narrative.

Ollam Fodla. After a variety of monarchs, of whom a particular notice is not requisite, the one called Ollam Fodla, who reigned about nine hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, was distinguished by his capacity for legislation. Endued by nature with a superior understanding, he instituted, it is said, the triennial convention of kings, priests, and poets, who met at Tarah, in Meath, for the purpose of establishing laws, and regulating the government. Some others also followed his example, and were useful in producing salutary laws, though barbarous crimes too frequently intervened, and the monarchs themselves were successively removed by a series of assassination.

Kcmbeth. Two hundred and sixty years after Ollam Fodla, Kcmbeth ascended the throne, who built, it is reported, in the vicinity of Armagh, the palace of Emania, the celebrated residence of the kings of Ulster for almost seven hundred years. At Emania councils were held subordinate to Tarah, the subject of whose debates related to national police, and the mechanical arts. His queen, Macha, obtained the throne after his death, having gained different victories over her competitors, and, after a reign of seven years, was slain herself, by Reachta, a prince of the line of Heber, who was also put to death by his successor. Hence followed the

reigns of a variety of monarchs, who obtained the supreme CHAP. I.
 sway by destroying the actual possessors of the throne. During this time, some bands of the Scandinavian Goths, from the regions near the Baltic, formed settlements in Ireland; and, about the first century of the Christian era, the Dumnonian race usurped the chief power by the slaughter of the ancient royal family.

At length Tuathal, a prince of this ancient family, re-Tuathal.
 turning from North Britain with some auxiliaries, had the general convention assembled at Tarah, and himself acknowledged as supreme monarch. He obliged his subjects by a solemn oath, to elect their future sovereigns from his family, and had the district of Meath appointed as an appendage to the monarchy. During his reign, an incident took place, which was attended with a very remarkable effect. Eochaid, the provincial king of Leinster, who had married his daughter, conceiving a guilty passion for her sister, pretended, in order to gratify his desire, that his wife was dead, and obtained her sister in marriage. The two ladies happened to meet in the royal house of Leinster, and the meeting had a fatal effect on them, as they both died of vexation. The monarch in a rage invaded his province, which was preserved from desolation only on the express condition of paying a grievous tribute, called the Baromean tribute, as a perpetual memorial of the monarch's resentment, and of the offence that Eochaid had committed. The exaction of this oppressive tribute produced disorders for ages.

Con, one of his successors, who gained the throne, as usual, by putting the reigning monarch to death, found great difficulty in exacting this tribute. He reigned thirty-five years, mostly engaged in wars of various success, and at last lost his life in a battle with the King of Ulster. The reign of his son and successor, Art, is only remarkable for having a colony of Irish settled in Albany in North Britain, under a chieftain called Rida. Hence a more intimate intercourse was established between the two countries.

Cormac, the second after him, who was elected monarch in 254, seemed to possess some political talents, but was so unfortunate as to lose an eye in one of his military expeditions, which rendered him unfit to reign, as no person

CHAP. I. maimed could, by the constitution, sit on the throne. He resigned his situation with great calmness, and spent the remainder of his life in philosophic retirement, having composed different works, especially "an Advice to a King," for the benefit of his son, who, he expected, would some time or other ascend the throne.

Soon after his death, his son, Carbry attained, as he expected, the sovereign power, and profiting by his father's instructions, framed some useful institutions, for the purpose of restraining those violent passions which too frequently were allowed to operate without controul. Yet his precepts seemed not to have had a suitable influence on his own conduct, for though it was his duty, as monarch of Ireland, to promote the happiness of all his subjects, yet he led an army into Leinster, to enforce the payment of the odious Baromean tribute. In his reign, the national militia, so useful and so much famed by the bards, for reasons not sufficiently known, was disbanded.

Flacha, of the house of Heremon, who was elected his successor, was attacked by a faction termed the Collas, who were enraged at the partiality he showed to his son, Muredoch, a young man possessed with a desire of military glory. The king lost his life in a battle with these, one of whom usurped his throne, but was afterwards banished by Muredoch with the whole party to Albany. In three years they returned, having obtained their pardon from Muredoch, who also supplied them with seven thousand men to procure a settlement in Ulster. But this monarch, during the absence of his party, was attacked by Collach, one of his chieftains, and deprived of his kingdom and life.

The usurper was soon slain by the king's son, Eochaid, who, as well as Cremthan, the next successor to the throne, went over to North Britain, in order to assist the Picts against the Romans, and their British auxiliaries. It must be observed, however, that the Irish monarchs had frequently sufficient employment at home, without going abroad on foreign expeditions; for, beside contending with the provincial kings, who were often turbulent, they were frequently engaged in warfare with colonies of the Scandinavian Goths, already mentioned, who at different times invaded their

country with success. These colonies were termed Scots; CHAP. I.
and in the fourth century of the Christian era, obtained such power
as to cause this island to be called Scotia or Scotland,
an appellation in later times transferred to another country.
In this same century, it is reported, that they, led on by
Oscar, son of Oshin, and grandson of the hero Fin, en-
gaged in a great battle with the Irish, under a prince of
Leinster, in which the latter were victorious. This pre-
vented the subjugation of Ireland at that time. They con-
tinued, however, masters of the ports, but the native princes
seemed to have considerable authority in the interior parts
of the country.

Of all the Irish monarchs at that time, who were most Nial.
successful, both in repelling foreign invasion, and in sub-
duing rebellious chieftains, Nial the Great, or Nial of the
Nine Hostages, the immediate successor of Cremthan, was
certainly the most remarkable. When he had sufficiently
established his authority at home, he followed the example
of his predecessors, in going over to North Britain, to ac-
company the Picts in their expeditions against the unfortu-
nate Britons. He broke through the wall built by the Ro-
mans to prevent the incursion of the Picts, attacked the
people, desolated the country, and returned home laden
with plunder. He also made two expeditions, of a similar
kind, into Gaul, assisted in the first by the Saxons, and,
in the second, by the general of the Dulraidas, but was
murdered, on the banks of the Loire, in 406, by a son of
the king of Leinster, who went over to Gaul for that very
purpose. The country was thus happily freed from de-
predation.

In the reign of his nephew Dathy, who succeeded him,
the Romans, distressed on the continent by the northern
nations, were obliged to withdraw their forces from Britain,
which afforded an opportunity to Dathy, and his friends
the Picts, to ravage the country. He also led an army to
Gaul, where he perished, by a stroke of lightning, at the
foot of the Alps.

His successor was Laogary, the son of Nial the Great,
who ascended the throne in 428. Soon after his accession,
he made a descent on Britain, and compelled the people to

CHAP. I. pay him a tribute. Yet, he was unsuccessful in enforcing the payment of the Baromean tribute, being defeated in battle and taken prisoner by Cremthan the king of Leinster. In order to regain his liberty, he took an oath never more to demand this odious tribute, but being absolved by the druids, he broke his engagement, and continued still to pursue his iniquitous claim. These priests had long before corrupted both religion and morality, and, of course, were injurious to the state.

The time now arrived when the Christian religion was more openly professed in Ireland, though some feeble efforts had been tried to introduce it before. The honour of this conversion is usually ascribed to St. Patrick, who is reported to be a native of North Britain, and to have entertained a partiality for the Irish, from the circumstance of his being a captive in Ireland in his youth. He arrived here, it is said, on his spiritual enterprise, with authority from Pope Celestine, about 432, when he was in his sixtieth year. Yet, the very existence of this saint has of late been controverted, and such powerful arguments produced, as the most zealous of his advocates and admirers will find difficult to answer.* It appears, that he is not mentioned in any writing of authentic date before the ninth century, a period remarkable for fabricating the lives of saints, nor by the ecclesiastic historians of the intermediate time, Beda, Cogitosus, Adamnan, and Cummian, who, it might be supposed, would not have omitted to take notice of so great a missionary, if any account of him had reached them. In the calendar, it is owned, his name is frequently found, but this is very suspicious authority. The stories also transmitted to us of his exploits and miracles, have, it is said, too much the appearance of legendary fiction. Yet, it is odd, that the imposture should have been palmed on the world so long, and never discovered till the present time.

In converting the natives to Christianity, by whomsoever this useful work was effected, great policy was displayed in endeavouring to make it agreeable to the order of the druids. As certain hereditary privileges and possessions were annex-

* See Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland*, where this abstruse subject is amply discussed with singular ingenuity and learning.

ed to that order, it was appointed, in conformity to this idea, CHAP. I.
 that the office of pastors of the several churches should be confined
 confined to certain families, and that the lands set apart for
 their support should descend by regular inheritance. This
 tended in some degree to reconcile the druids to Christian-
 ity, who were before most averse to it, as it showed a re-
 spect to their ancient customs, and as they might obtain the
 same advantage from the present religion, which they en-
 joyed from the last. Still the work of conversion proceed-
 ed slowly, as it appears that paganism prevailed very much
 here, even at the end of the sixth century.

The missionaries, however, were so fortunate as to con-
 vert, among other persons of rank, Laogary, the monarch,
 who, notwithstanding, seems not to have been much improv-
 ed in morality by his change of religion. Once more he
 joined the Picts with an army in their predatory invasions
 of Britain, which was continually harassed by their attacks,
 until the battle of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, took place, in
 which the Britons were victorious by the assistance of the
 Saxons, who, being invited as auxiliaries, afterwards took
 possession of the kingdom.

Laogary, who died in 456, was succeeded by Oliol Molt,
 of the family of Heremon, who, notwithstanding the failure
 of his predecessor, led an army into Leinster to enforce the
 payment of the Baromean tribute, and fought a battle there,
 of which the event is not related. Soon after, he was en-
 gaged in a contest with Leuighad, the son of Laogary, a
 competitor for the throne, who, when he came to age, de-
 manded it as the right of his family, and slew Oliol on the
 plains of Ocha. Leuighad was now crowned monarch, having
 an undisputed title to the crown, as he was descended from
 Heremon, and of the house of Nial.

The different claims to that honour, between the families
 of Heber and Heremon, produced, for several ages, a va-
 riety of contests, of which, and of the reigns themselves, it
 may be needless to relate the particulars. Yet, for the two
 succeeding centuries, notwithstanding these violent con-
 tests, Christianity and learning made a successful progress
 in Ireland. The complete conversion of the island was
 owing to the clergy of South Britain, who took refuge here Complete
conversion.

CHAP. I. from the Anglo-Saxon pagans, the sanguinary conquerors of their country. These contributed to found here monasteries and seminaries of learning, which had so much increased in the seventh century as to cause Ireland to be called *the island of saints and scholars*. Missionaries were then sent from it to different parts of the continent, to propagate the Christian religion and scholastic philosophy, the fashionable learning of the times. This literary pre-eminence, in those dark ages, was not only owing to the asylum it then afforded to men of a contemplative turn, during the troubles on the continent, and Saxon wars in South Britain, but also to the discouragement of knowledge and free inquiry, visibly shewn by the Roman pontiff, who was well assured that ignorance would promote that spiritual dominion at which he aimed. Literature, however, was entirely confined to the monasteries, which, by their institution, being detached from society, had but little influence on the great body of the people, who were involved in extreme barbarism. Yet, furious and savage as they were, those asylums of piety were respected by them in their most bloody intestine commotions.

The fame of those seminaries at that time certainly extended very far, and attracted students from Britain and the continent. Yet the number has been greatly exaggerated by the monkish historians, who tell us there were seven thousand at Armagh, and at least as many at Lismore. From those repositories of learning certainly proceeded many saints and scholars, of whom it may be sufficient to mention a few.

Learned
and pious
men.

About the middle of the sixth century flourished Columba, or Columb-Cill, who, after founding a monastery at Derry, established a celebrated abbey in the isle of Ilay, one of the Hebrides, which, for almost two hundred years, disseminated Christian knowledge and literature through North Britain and Northumberland. Hence he was honoured with the title of the Apostle of the North Britains. His biographer, St. Canice, the patron saint of Kilkenny, who also wrote hymns in his praise, immediately succeeded him.

In the seventh century flourished, beside a number of

other holy men, the learned and pious Columbanus, a monk of Bangor, in the county of Down, who composed works of celebrity, both in poetry and prose, the latter chiefly in defence of the old observation of Easter. He also founded two monasteries in Burgundy, in France, and one in Britain. CHAP. I.

The next century produced Virgilius Solivagus, the glory of Irish literature, whose fame attracted the notice of Pepin, king of the Franks, who conferred on him the bishoprick of Saltzburg. He was degraded by pope Zachary, for daring to publish the discovery he had made of the real figure of the earth, the fruits of laborious research, but was canonized, five hundred years after, by pope Gregory the Ninth. Sedulus Scotigena, distinguished also by the epithet Secundus, in his writings opposed with ability the high pretensions of the Roman pontiff, and the worship of images. It is to be lamented that those men of literature left us no account of their own country, the records of which in those times are peculiarly meagre and obscure. We have, it is true, *The Psalter of Cashel*,* *The Book of Howth*, *The Annals of Figernagh*, *The Annals of Innisfallen*, and *the Annals of the Four Masters*, yet obtain from them very little satisfactory information.

The repose, however, of contemplative men was disturbed, in the ninth century, by the invasion of the Danes or Ostmen, who, ascending up the rivers in their light vessels, laid waste the country with fire and sword, butchered the inhabitants of every age and sex, and carried off the plunder. Against the Christian clergy, in particular, those pagans exerted their bloody rage, despoiled the monasteries and public seminaries, and obliged many of the learned men to make their escape out of the kingdom. Their superstition was one of the most sanguinary sort, and inspired them with a desire for slaughter, and a contempt of death. Woden, the object of their worship, was the imaginary god of war, into whose paradise admission was only to be gained by bloodshed. To die by any other means than by warlike weapons was esteemed so disgraceful, that, when in

* This is a poetic composition, and is supposed to be written by Cormac Macuillenan, archbishop of Cashel, and king of Munster.

CHAP. I. danger of being carried off by disease, they prevailed on their friends to put them to violent deaths.

Their first landing in Ireland was in 795, and ravaging parties of them also landed afterwards. But the great invasion was in 815, and took place under Turgesius or Turgis, who, in the course of thirty years, spread desolation over the island. Being desirous at length to reign over a country which he had plundered, he assumed the state and title of king of Ireland, but, by some contrivance not well known, was seized and put to death by Malachy, king of Meath. The people now rose up against the Ostmen, and drove them out of the interior part of the kingdom.

About 853, some fresh troops of them landed under Am-lave, Selric and Ivar, which, when joined by those who had maintained themselves in the country, made their force very considerable. Under pretence of enriching the country by commerce, they prevailed on the Irish to allow them to become absolute masters of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, and other maritime places, which they enlarged, and fortified with such works as were totally unknown to the inhabitants. Here they lay in security, being ready to receive fresh reinforcements of their countrymen, and imperceptibly increased in power, owing, in a great measure, to the disunion of the people, who were constantly engaged with each other in civil commotions, and seemed more desirous of gratifying their private resentment, than combining to defend their country from foreign force. At length they seemed for a while sensible of their error, and attacked them with tolerable success. The Danes were defeated, and obliged to leave the interior parts of the island, yet still subsisted and carried on their commerce, maintaining sometimes their own independence, and at other times acknowledging the superiority of their neighbours. Usually they were subject to the rule of several independent leaders, who were not united, unless in cases of great emergency. After all the defeats which they are reported to have sustained, they continued very powerful for some centuries, and were sometimes the most distinguished sept in Ireland. They were converted to Christianity about the year 964, and seemed

then to have assumed a more regular system of commercial navigation. CHAP. I.

Though several Irish princes and chieftains, no doubt, exerted themselves in repelling those foreign invaders, yet the exploits of none deserve so much notice as those of Brian Beromy, the hero so much celebrated in the annals of his country. He was brother to the king of Munster, and was for a series of years employed by him as his principal general against the Danes, over whom he gained many victories. His illustrious actions so much endeared him to his countrymen, that, on his brother's decease, they raised him, at an advanced age, to the throne of Munster. His first care was to avenge the death of his brother, who had been killed by a chieftain of some note. This chieftain he defeated in a great battle, and destroyed fifteen hundred Danes who came to his assistance. Another chieftain, who opposed him with a fresh reinforcement of Danes, met with the same success. Having thus established tranquillity in his own province, he obtained the sovereignty of the southern half of the island, and when the Irish and Danes of Leinster refused to pay him tribute, he marched against them at the head of his militia to levy it by force. The city of Dublin he besieged and took by storm, and reduced the inhabitants to due subordination. His fame tended to excite against the Danes some other Irish princes, who attacked them in different quarters of the island. Their monarch, Malachy, however, did not display similar activity, which enraged them so much that they deposed him, and placed the illustrious hero of Munster in his room.

When he attained his new dignity he was above seventy years of age, but exerted a vigour and moderation suitable to the arduous employment in which he was engaged. He subdued the malecontents, redressed those who had suffered wrong, restored to their possessions those who had been ejected by foreigners, set those at liberty who had been reduced to bondage, and greatly conciliated all parties by the equity of his administration. The havoc wrought by invasion was now repaired, the endowments of the clergy recovered, churches and religious houses rebuilt, learned seminaries re-established, laws corrected and strictly enforced.

CHAP. I. To render the glory of his reign complete, he was preparing to fit out a formidable navy in order to overturn future invaders, when the Danes, who were still left in possession of the maritime cities, invited their countrymen to their assistance. These foreigners were now joined by the neighbouring Irish of the province of Leinster, who could not bear the restraints of a regular government, and were probably enraged at the exaction of the ancient tribute. At the age of eighty-eight, Brian Beromy was obliged to enter the field to engage this united force. The two armies met at **Battle of Clontarffe.** Clontarffe, near Dublin, but when he had arranged the plan of the battle, he retired, and left the command to his son, Morthagh. After a desperate conflict his troops were victorious, but his son fell in the engagement, and he himself was slain by some fugitives, as he lay unguarded in his tent. This was the famous battle of Clontarffe, which took place on the 23d of April 1014.

By the death of Brian Beromy, Malachy, who had been deposed, was restored to the throne. He had borne his degradation with singular temper, submitting cheerfully to the decision of the people; and being content with his own province of Meath, had even served in the army of his rival. Instructed by his misfortunes, he now exerted himself with more vigour; he intimidated the factious chieftains, and restrained the power of the Danes. Yet his death afforded them an opportunity of enlarging their settlements, as it tended to produce confusion among the Irish.

The succession of the two royal houses being interrupted by the election of Brian, every provincial king was thence encouraged to aspire to the same honour. Among the several competitors that offered, Donchad, the son of Brian, seemed at first the most successful. He had established his authority in the south, and was proceeding to enforce the submission of the north, when Turlogh, his nephew, being encouraged by a king of Leinster, started up to oppose him, and was proclaimed monarch by his faction. Hence, the country was distracted by the violence of contending parties, laws and religion lost their influence, and vice and immorality prevailed. Donchad at length was

obliged to submit to the superior power of his rival, and, CHAP. I.
 assuming the habit of a religious, concealed himself in St. Stephen's
 Stephen's abbey at Rome. Turlogh, though not formally
 elected, having subdued every competitor, exerted the au-
 thority of a monarch, and made amends, it is said, for the
 defect of his title, by the vigour and equity of his admini-
 stration.

If, however, the factious were checked by him during
 his life, on his death, when all restraints were removed
 they burst out with double violence. The competitors for
 the monarchy were Morrough O'Brian in the south, and
 Donald O'Loughlan in the north, each of whom was acknow-
 ledged by his own, and strenuously resisted by the op-
 posite party. Hence, desperate conflicts, and furious in-
 testine commotions. O'Brian at last succeeded, excluding
 the Hy Nial race from the throne. These perpetual con-
 tests weakened the strength of the country, and rendered it
 ready to be subdued by any powerful invader who would
 make the attempt.

While it was thus distracted by contending parties, Mag-
 nus, king of Norway, a successful adventurer, who had Last at-
tempt of
the Danes.
 seized the isle of Man, and the Orkneys, landed in Ul-
 ster, in order to view the coasts; but, having ventured too
 far into the country, he was suddenly surrounded, and cut
 to pieces, with all his party. This was the last attempt
 made on the island by the Ostmen, who certainly had in-
 troduced into it different improvements, particularly the
 art of building houses with stone and lime, and of coining
 money. Their descendants, when become established in-
 habitants of the country, were probably its most firm de-
 fenders against subsequent invasion. Other settlers, how-
 ever, were soon to get a footing here, whose establishment
 had a more durable effect.

CHAPTER II.

Scheme of Henry II.—Adrian's bull—Dermod Mac Murchad—Deposed, applies to Henry—To different adventurers—Fitzstephen lands—Wexford taken—Ossorians attacked—Fitzgerald lands—Treaty with Roderic O'Connor—Broke by Dermod—Strongbow lands, and storms Waterford—Also Dublin, with great slaughter—Death of Dermod—Dublin besieged by the Irish—Relieved by a bold effort—Capture of Fitzstephen—Henry summons Strongbow—Lands in Ireland—Fitzstephen released—Ordinances, religious—Civil—Henry leaves Ireland—State of the country—His troubles—Strongbow, chief governor—Exploits of Raymond—Submission of O'Connor, &c.—Death of Strongbow—Character—Fitzandelm his successor—De Courcey invades Ulster—De Cogan Connaught—Administration of De Lacy—Murder of De Cogan, &c.—Fresh adventurers—Prince John, Lord of Ireland—His attendants insult the Irish—Dangerous combination—English settlements assailed—De Courcey chief governor—Death of Roderic O'Connor—Divisions among the Irish—Favourable to De Courcey—Hugh De Lacy, his successor—Armoric's heroic band—Earl Marshal's administration—Hamo de Valois—Fitzhenry chief-governor—Barons become factious—De Burgo reduced—De Courcey—Arrival of King John—His employment here—His general conduct and death.

CHAP. II. **E**NCOURAGED by the dissensions that prevailed in the country, of which some notice has been already taken, Henry II of England, the most accomplished prince who had filled the throne of that kingdom since the days of Alfred, being not content with his extensive dominions in France, formed the design to attempt the subjugation of Ireland. Accordingly, soon after his accession, he had recourse for that purpose to Rome, which assumed a right to

Scheme of
Henry II.

dispose of kingdoms and empires at pleasure, and having CHAP. II.
 no apprehension of the dangerous disputes in which he was
 afterwards to be involved with that see, he contributed,
 for present convenience, to give sanction to claims which
 were now become dangerous to all sovereigns. In his ap-
 plication to the pope, he set forth the depraved state of
 Ireland, and requested his permission to subdue the coun-
 try, in order to reclaim it from vice and immorality, to in-
 troduce the gospel in its purity, and render it submissive
 to the jurisdiction of the holy see, engaging to pay a year-
 ly tribute to St. Peter from the land thus reduced to his
 obedience.

The present pope was Adrian III, who was himself an Adrian's
bull.
 Englishman, and, of course, desirous to oblige the king.
 He, therefore, issued, in the year 1156, a bull in favour of
 Henry, expressing his grateful sense of the anxious care
 that this good prince had ever shewn to enlarge the church
 of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints
 and elect in heaven, representing his design of subduing
 Ireland, as derived from the same pious motives, and en-
 suring him success on account of his applying for the apo-
 stolic sanction to favour his endeavours, observing, at the
 same time, that as all Christian kingdoms undoubtedly be-
 long to the right of St. Peter, and the church of Rome, it
 is, of course, his duty to sow among them the seeds of the
 gospel. Therefore he exhorts the king to invade Ireland,
 in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the people,
 and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny
 to the see of Rome. He also gives him entire right and
 authority over the island, and commands all the inhabit-
 ants to obey him as their sovereign. On receiving this bull,
 Henry did not immediately make a suitable use of the in-
 fluence it afforded him, being detained at the time by more
 interesting business on the continent.

From the bull itself, may naturally be inferred, that the
 Irish church was not then reduced to a state of due subor-
 dination to the holy see. Its rites and discipline bore ra-
 ther a resemblance, as observed,* to those of the early
 Greek church. Yet, though it retained somewhat of the

* See Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland.

CHAP. II. true Christian purity, it was not entirely free from superstition, since it countenanced the doctrine of a local purgatory, as appears by a cave being selected, in the ninth century, in the isle of Lough-Derg, in the county of Donegal, for the purpose of penance, which was called *Patrick's Purgatory*, from the name of its inventor, Patrick, abbot of Armagh. This church was subject to the government of bishops, who were certainly not chosen by the pope, but hereditary in the noble families, and had sees of very confined extent.

The Danish colonies, however, of Dublin, and the other cities, being converted to Christianity, in the ninth and tenth centuries, according to the rites of the English church, the same with those of the Roman, at length opened a way for the introduction of papal doctrine and discipline into Ireland. Yet these made but very slow progress among the original Irish, nor was it, after many exertions, until the middle of the twelfth century, that the supremacy of the Roman pontiff was solemnly recognised in this island. This took place in a council of Irish clergy, convened at Kells, in the year 1152, by desire of Cardinal Paparon, legate of Pope Eugenius III. The number of bishops, which amounted to three hundred, was then reduced to four archbishops, and twenty-six bishops, and the former petty bishops were made rural deans. On each of the four archbishops, the cardinal conferred a pall, as a mark of their subjection to the holy see. The archbishop of Armagh was then invested with the powers of the primacy. Yet, notwithstanding this acknowledgment of the authority of the supreme pontiff, the rituals of the various congregations remained in their former state till the invasion under Henry II, for which a plausible pretence was soon offered by the submissive application of an Irish prince.

Dermod
Mac Murchad.

Dermod Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, a man of profligate manners, though liberal in his donations to religious houses, had, by his insolence and oppression, become not only odious to his subjects, but injurious to his neighbours. Such a man, being not scrupulous, as may be supposed, of the means necessary to effect any favourite object, formed a design on Deverghal, the wife of Terence O'Ruarc, king

of Breffney,* and daughter of the king of Meath. Of his CHAP. 11.
 scheme the husband had, no doubt, some apprehensions ;
 for, being obliged to visit a distant part of his territory, he
 had left his wife secure, as he thought, in an island, sur-
 rounded by a bog, but Dermot having suddenly invaded
 the place, carried off the princess.

O'Ruarc, provoked at the injury he had sustained, ex-Deposed.
 erted himself to get assistance against his rival, with va-
 rious success ; but having at length obtained the powerful
 support of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, now
 exalted to the monarchy of all Ireland, he had Dermot
 deposed, and another of the same family chosen in his
 room. On the first appearance of invasion, Dermot, de-
 spairing of his ability to make resistance, in a fit of phrenzy,
 burned his town of Ferns, lest it should be despoiled by
 the enemy. His application for aid to his tributaries,
 whom he had disgusted by his insolence, was treated with
 scorn, and some of them had even joined his enemies. De-
 posed and degraded, in the bitterness of insulted pride,
 he resolved to seek, in another country, that assistance
 which was denied him at home. Accordingly, he embarked
 for England with sixty followers, and arrived at the port
 of Bristol.

Received there with the compassion due to a prince in Applies to
Henry.
 distress, deserted, as he represented, by his rebellious vas-
 sals, he was informed that Henry, on whom he had now
 placed his sole dependence, was in Guienne, a distant pro-
 vince of northern France. Thither he repaired in all haste,
 and threw himself at the monarch's feet, setting forth his
 piteous story, and craving his royal aid to restore him to his
 dominions, which he promised, in that case, to hold in vas-
 salage of him and his heirs. The king, though pleased
 with a pretence for sending troops to Ireland, which he
 had long desired, was so much engaged in contests with the
 clergy, especially Becket, who perplexed him, and with the
 insurrection of his subjects in different provinces of France,
 that he could not make a suitable use of the opportunity
 which now offered. However, he received him with great
 kindness, affected to commiserate his wrongs, made him

* Now Leitrim.

CHAP. II. magnificent presents and splendid promises, and dismissed him with a letter of credence addressed to his subjects, allowing any of them that might think proper, his royal permission to restore his friend, the exiled king of Leinster, to his dominions. This letter, which he shewed in Bristol on his return, had not in that place the desired effect.

To differ-
ent adven-
turers. Disappointed in this first attempt, he was persuaded to pass over the Severn, and apply to Richard, earl of Chepstow, surnamed Strongbow, son of Earl Pembroke, a young nobleman of high spirit, but dissipated fortune, residing on the borders of Wales. His proposal he at first received coldly, till he promised him his daughter Eva in marriage, and with her the inheritance of the kingdom of Leinster. Induced by the tempting offer, he agreed to assist him with a considerable force in the spring, provided he could obtain the king's leave. In his journey home, through South Wales, being in high spirits at his success, he met with two more bold chieftains, Robert Fitzstephen, and his maternal brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, whom he also engaged in his enterprise, on promising them, if he succeeded in recovering his rights, the entire dominion of the town of Wexford, with a considerable territory adjoining. Having received a solemn assurance from these, that they would come to his assistance in the spring, he embarked with his train, and a few early adventurers from Wales, and landed privately on the Irish coast in the winter of 1169. He then stole off to the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded, and lay there concealed for some time, awaiting the arrival of his allies.

Soon after his return, his emissaries, with the design of acquiring friends to his cause among the Irish, disseminated the fame of the foreign succours expected. Of course his arrival did not long continue secret; and being impatient of delay, and dreading disappointment, he dispatched a messenger to England, in order to urge his allies to hasten their preparations, and to solicit other adventurers, with the assurance of rich settlements and large rewards for their services. Assuming now the appearance of great confidence, as being the safer mode of conduct in his present dilemma, he put himself at the head of his adherents, and

seized a part of his former dominions, known then by the name of Hy-Kenselagh, extending to Wexford along the river Slaney. On hearing of this successful attempt, Roderic O'Connor, the monarch, accompanied by O'Ruarc, marched thither with all speed, attended by a body of troops from Connaught, and, attacking Dermod, obliged him, with his followers, to take refuge in the thick fastnesses of the woods. Here he was assailed with various success, and being desirous to gain time, made a proposal of a treaty to Roderic, to which he agreed. The terms were, that Dermod should pay O'Ruarc a large sum of money to purchase his forgiveness, and should renounce all claim to the kingdom of Leinster, on being allowed to retain a small territory in vassalage under the chief monarch. With what sincerity he proposed and agreed to this treaty will now appear.

Robert Fitzstephen, whom he had anxiously expected, at length set sail from Wales with a fleet of three small vessels, in May 1170, and arriving on the coast of Wexford, disembarked his troops, consisting of thirty knights, sixty men in armour,* and three hundred archers. Along with these came Hervey of Mountmorres, Strongbow's nephew, sent to report to him the state of affairs in Ireland. This little army was reinforced the next day by Maurice de Prendergast, another Welsh adventurer, who landed with two hundred archers and ten knights. On the news of their arrival, numbers, who had deserted Dermod, returned to his standard, and that prince, in violation of his treaty, a practice not uncommon among the Irish of those days, sent before him, to join the invaders, five hundred men, under his natural son, Donald, a youth of distinguished valour, and soon after followed himself. These foreign allies he received with affection, and, after mutual stipulations had been solemnly adjusted, they proceeded to concert the future operations of the war.

They resolved first to attack the city of Wexford, which was twelve miles off, and on their approach to it in military order, displaying shining armour, they so much sur-
Fitzstephen lands.
Wexford taken.

* Men in armour were cavalry, defended by armour, as were also their horses.

CHAP. II. prised the garrison, consisting of Ostmen and Irish, who
 were but rude in the art of war, that they thought it necessary to burn the suburbs and adjacent villages, and take shelter within their walls. The invaders, though their assault was conducted with spirit and skill, met with a determined resistance, and were repulsed with the loss of eighteen men. Fitzstephen, their undaunted leader, little affected by their first unsuccessful attempt, drew off his forces to the sea-shore, and, to convince them that they had no other alternative than conquest or death, set fire to his own transports, with some other vessels that lay at anchor, and, the next day, after having divine service performed in the camp, led them on to the assault. Such desperate resolution, joined to the advice of the clergy, induced the garrison to capitulate. The terms were, that Wexford should be peaceably surrendered to Dermod; that the inhabitants should own him as their sovereign, and be admitted into his service; and that four principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages for the regular performance of the conditions. He now entered the town in triumph, and, according to his agreement, conferred on Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald conjointly, though the latter had not yet arrived, the lordship of the town and domains, and on Strongbow's nephew, already mentioned, two considerable districts between Wexford and Waterford.

Ossorians
 attacked.

In a few days he conducted his British allies to his residence at Ferns, and entertained them for three weeks. He then marched his army against the chieftain of Ossory, situated about the modern county of Kilkenny, who, in a fit of jealousy, had seized his son, and cruelly put out his eyes, which produced the death of the unhappy young man. The Ossorians, to the amount of five thousand, under their valiant commander, having intrenched themselves amidst woods and morasses, repelled their continued attacks; but, at length, in the ardour of victory, having quitted their strong holds, they poured down into the plains, where the British cavalry, who had fled on purpose, turned on them, and routed them with great slaughter. The victors, however, in their turn, pursuing too rapidly, were, through ignorance of the country, involved in dan

gerous morasses, where their cavalry could not act, and CHAP. II.
 would have certainly been destroyed, had they not, by a similar feint as before, enticed the enemy into the plains, who were thus, and by an ambuscade placed in their rear, completely defeated. The Irish now, in the service of prince Dermod, brought him three hundred heads as a present, one of which, streaming with blood, the barbarian, it is said, tore with his teeth.

Had he taken the advice of his allies, he would have entirely subdued the Prince of Ossory, but he preferred ravaging the lands of some hostile chieftains, which allowed the former an opportunity to recruit his forces, that were also joined by those under Maurice de Prendergast, who, being disgusted with Dermod, revolted to his antagonist. This British leader, however, being soon more disgusted with his new ally, forsook his party, and with difficulty made his escape to Wales. In the mean while, Dermod was reinforced by the arrival at Wexford of Maurice Fitzgerald, with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and a hundred archers. This addition to his force, induced the Prince of Ossory, the murderer of his son, humbly to offer to make his submission, which, after sullen hesitation, he consented to accept.

While Dermod was thus employed in reducing his revolted subjects, Roderic, the Irish monarch, who at first imagined, that the arrival of those foreigners to assist a provincial king, would be attended with no other consequences than happened before on similar occasions, began, at last, from the fame of their exploits and progress, to think it necessary to stop them in their career. Accordingly, he collected from every province a great army at Tarah, who attended him in his march to the southward, but when he arrived at Dublin, he dismissed the northern chieftains with their troops (a sad instance of disunion!) being suspicious of their secret attachment to the rival family of Hi Nial. His remaining forces, however, far exceeded those of Dermod, who would have sunk into despair, had not his spirits been recruited by his British friends, who firmly adhered to him in every reverse of fortune. The allied army now, on account of the great superiority of the enemy, thought it prudent to

Fitzgerald
lands.

Treaty
with Roderic
O'Connor.

CHAP. II. entrench themselves in a difficult situation near Ferns, amidst morasses, precipices, and woods, where they awaited their attack with such determined intrepidity as cooled the ardour of Roderic. Instead then of valiantly exerting himself, like a patriotic monarch, to repel the invaders of his country, he meanly preferred to negotiate. Having endeavoured in vain to detach Fitzstephen from Dermod, he at last concluded a treaty with the latter, who engaged, on his not opposing him in the reduction of Leinster, to acknowledge him as his supreme monarch, and to deliver him his favourite son as a hostage, who was to be married to his daughter. By a secret article, he was bound to bring over no more British adventurers, and to send home those already arrived, as soon as his power should be established in his province.

Being authorised now, by treaty, to reduce all Leinster to his obedience, he marched to take vengeance on the citizens of Dublin, who had treacherously murdered his father, and insultingly buried a dog along with his body. In this expedition he was accompanied by Fitzgerald, who commanded at that time all the British troops, except some employed by Fitzstephen in building a fort at Carrick, near Wexford. Dublin, the object of his hatred, was principally inhabited by Ostmen, attracted by the convenience of commerce, who had a Danish governor, and as often as they could effect it, asserted their independence. This city, with the territory adjoining, he ravaged with unrelenting fury, until at last he was prevailed on by the British leader to accept their submission.

Broke by
Dermod.

The treaty he made with the monarch, Roderic, it appears by his subsequent conduct, he only intended to observe as long as it would suit his convenience. Soon after he signed it, he prevailed on Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond,* who had married his daughter, to renounce his allegiance to Roderic, the sovereign with whom he had been solemnly connected, and Dermod called on Fitzstephen to afford assistance to his son-in-law in this dishonourable proceeding. Roderic marched with his army to chastise the rebellious lord, but met with such formidable opposi-

* Thomond was North Munster, and Desmond South Munster.

tion from the British forces, that he was obliged to retire CHAP. 17.
in disgrace.

Dermot, however, not content with this insidious breach of the treaty, encouraged by success, at length aimed at the entire sovereignty of Ireland. To effect his purpose, he sent pressing solicitations to Earl Strongbow for the promised aid, but that nobleman, being unwilling to embark in an undertaking of such moment, without the particular license of his sovereign, repaired to Henry to ask his permission, who gave him only an evasive answer. Conceiving it, however, a compliance with his request, he returned home, and prepared for the expedition. Before he set off himself, he sent, as the advanced guard of his army, Raymond le Gross, a nephew of Fitzstephen, with ten knights and seventy archers. Having landed near Waterford, in May 1171, they raised a rampart, and drew a trench around it. But soon they were opposed by a tumultuary band of citizens and peasants to the amount of three thousand, who rushed out against them. Despising this mob of assailants, the Britons marched confidently to engage them on equal ground, but perceiving their error, retired in haste to their entrenchments. Being closely pursued, they drove out on the crowd, a herd of cattle which had been collected within, then attacked them in confusion, their leader being killed by Raymond, slew some, drowned others, and having taken seventy of the principal citizens prisoners, broke their legs, and threw them down a precipice into the sea. This act shows that savage ferocity was not confined to the Irish.

Strongbow, having finished his preparations, was prepar-
ing to embark, when he received an order from Henry to Strongbow
lands, and
storms
desist from his enterprisc. This was peculiarly disagree-
able to him in his present situation, with such fair prospects Waterford.
before him, and therefore he ventured to disobey, and setting sail from Milford, landed on the Irish coast near Waterford, on the eve of St. Bartholomew's, with two hundred knights, and twelve hundred infantry, all carefully chosen and well appointed. With this army Prendergast returned, who had formerly left the country in disgust. Being joined by Raymond and his party, they marched

CHAP. II. next day to attack the city of Waterford, which was principally inhabited by Ostmen, and was prepared for a vigorous defence. After frequent repulses, they at last made a breach in the wall, by cutting the prop of a house that projected over it, and rushing on with great fury, put all indiscriminately to the sword, until Dermod, who seasonably arrived, by his interposition, stopped the slaughter. He then embraced his new associates, and presenting his daughter Eva to Strongbow, had the stipulated marriage solemnized, as soon as the peace of the city was restored.

Also Dublin, with great slaughter.

The confederates now marched to Dublin, in order to punish the supposed or real disaffection of the inhabitants, but were opposed in their design by Roderic, who had advanced to Clondalkin, a little to the south of that city, with an army, it is said, of thirty thousand men. These, however, after skirmishing for three days, being terrified at the martial appearance of their opponents, demanded their dismissal and returned home. Hence, the citizens of Dublin were left exposed to the fury of their implacable enemy, especially as their principal gate had been destroyed by an accidental fire. In their consternation, they sent their archbishop, Lawrence O'Tool, a prelate of great piety and patriotism, with a solemn deputation, to deprecate his resentment, offering thirty hostages as a security for their future allegiance. Dermod received them sternly, and while he hesitated on accepting their submission, some of the younger and more fiery of the British leaders, pretending the time of parley was expired, led their troops to the wall, and gave the assault. As the attack was unsuspected, they rushed on without opposition, made terrible slaughter in the streets, and forced numbers into the river, where they were drowned. Many, with Hasculph, the governor, got their escape made in vessels to the northern islands.

Strongbow having attained the lordship of Dublin, marched along with Dermod into Meath, to restore to the throne an usurper who had been expelled by Roderic for murdering his predecessor. While they were ravaging the country, burning and slaughtering all around, Roderic, who was unable to oppose them, on account of the dissensions with

which he was embarrassed, sent a message to Dermod, putting him in mind of his breach of a solemn treaty, and threatening, if he did not desist from his shocking violence, to take vengeance on the hostages he had in his hands, and particularly on his son. The unnatural father received the message with defiance, and the head of the amiable youth, as well as of the rest, was instantly struck off by the implacable Roderic.

As the unhappy dissensions among the Irish princes prevented them from forming an effectual confederacy to resist the invaders, whose exploits produced great alarms, it was thought necessary, as a substitute for more potent measures, to convene a general council of the clergy at Armagh, to consult on the means of public safety. After serious deliberations, it was their unanimous opinion, that the chastisement of the English arms was brought on the country by providence, for the practice of purchasing English slaves, which had too generally prevailed. They, therefore, resolved that they should be immediately released, which raised the spirits of the people, as they supposed the latent cause of their calamity was discovered and removed. In this opinion they were probably strengthened by their affairs assuming at that time a favourable aspect.

Dermod was twice defeated in Breffney, which he had rashly invaded, and Strongbow was reduced to great difficulty by an edict from Henry, who was jealous of his success, prohibiting any supplies from England of men, arms, or provisions for his troops, and commanding all his subjects in Ireland to return home before Easter, under penalty of high treason. Deprived thus of all succour from abroad, and of the assistance of some of his countrymen, who obeyed the king's orders, his anxiety was still more increased by the death of Dermod,* which caused all his Irish allies to desert him, except Donald Kevanagh, his natural son, and some petty chiefs. While he was perplexed by a variety of unfortunate incidents, Dublin, which, on his going to Waterford, he had left under the

Death of
Dermod.

* The Irish annalists assert, that his disease, which was strange and tremendous, made him a shocking spectacle of misery, and was produced by the *pious* intercession of every Irish saint.

CHAP. II. government of his countryman, Milo de Cogan, was suddenly attacked by the late Danish governor, Hesculph, and a large body of Ostmen, that he had collected in the northern islands. These assailed the eastern side with great fury, and would certainly have succeeded in forcing their way into the town, had not Milo's brother, Richard, sallying out from the southern side, attacked them in the rear, confused by the dread of a fresh reinforcement, and drove them back to their ships with great slaughter. Hesculph was taken prisoner, and executed after the battle, denouncing vengeance against the Britons by a more powerful combination of forces. For this arrogant menace it was found he had some reason.

Dublin besieged by the Irish.

Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, flying from tribe to tribe all over the kingdom, excited the Irish chieftains to lay aside their ancient animosities, and closely unite to expel the foreign invaders. By his exertions he succeeded in raising an army, it is said, of thirty thousand men, commanded by Roderic O'Connor, which invested Dublin by land, while it was blockaded by sea with thirty vessels collected from the isle of Man and the northern islands, which he had also caused to combine against the Britons. This united force made no attack on the town, but closely besieged it for two months, which reduced the garrison to great distress, both by famine and disease. While they were in this unhappy state, intelligence was brought them by the faithful Donald Kevanagh, that the gallant Fitzstephen, who had deprived himself of a great part of his troops for the defence of Dublin, was besieged in the fortress of Carrick by the men of Wexford, and unless relieved in three days must fall into the hands of an implacable foe. Strongbow, in this perplexity, called a council of war, in which it was determined that he would offer Roderic, on condition of peace, to acknowledge him as his sovereign, and hold the principality of Leinster in vassalage under him. A proposal to this effect was conveyed through the archbishop, who commanded on that occasion a body of troops under the monarch. The answer returned was, that no terms would be admitted but the total evacuation of Ireland by the Britons. This an-

swer was naturally received by them with dissatisfaction, and, CHAP. II.
 after looking at each other for some time in silence, Milo de Cogan
 at last started up, and declared his determination to
 die bravely rather than submit to the mercy of barbarous
 enemies. This noble spirit was caught by the rest of the
 leaders, who unanimously resolved to make one bold effort
 to rescue themselves from their present emergency.

It was determined to make their attack the next day Relieved
by a bold
effort.
 on that quarter where Roderic lay encamped. For this
 desperate enterprise only six hundred men could be
 spared, who were led on by the following bold chieftains.
 Raymond commanded the advanced guard, Milo the second
 division, Strongbow and Fitzgerald the main body. As
 the quarter they attacked was quite unprepared, and their
 assault furious, they forced their way through the confused
 crowd with terrible slaughter. The Irish fled in dismay,
 and the monarch himself made his escape, by starting up
 out of the bath, where he had retired, and running away
 half naked. The rest of the leaders under him, having
 no real attachment for him, or sense of common interest,
 followed his example, and made off with all speed. Thus
 the feeble garrison of Britons, by one desperate effort,
 rescued themselves from danger, and gained a surprising
 victory. In the camp they found provisions sufficient to
 support them for a year.

Strongbow having committed the government of Dublin,
 now rescued from danger, to Milo de Cogan, proceeded
 immediately for Wexford to relieve Fitzstephen. On his
 march thither through a dangerous defile, in the present
 county of Carlow, being hemmed in on all sides by woods,
 precipices, and morasses, he found himself suddenly at-
 tacked, with horrid howlings, by a body of the Irish, who
 lay in ambuscade for him, and would probably have de-
 feated him, had not a fortunate arrow, discharged by one
 Nicholas, a monk who served in his army, killed O'Rian,
 their leader, and of course put his troops in confusion,
 who fled in dismay, and left him master of the field. He
 now proceeded cautiously on, in order to effect the purpose
 he intended ; but when he got to Wexford, he found that
 affairs there had taken an unfortunate turn.

CHAP. II. The gallant Fitzstephen had been for a long while besieged in the fortress of Carrick without effect, frequently
 Capture of
 Fitzste-
 phen. had he repelled the attacks of his assailants ; but at last, by base perjury, they obtained the success they desired. Having demanded a parley, they told him, with every appearance of friendship, that Roderic had stormed Dublin, and put Strongbow and all the Britons there to the sword, and was now marching to Wexford to destroy the rest of the adventurers, but as they had a respect for him, on account of his virtues, they offered, if he entrusted himself to their care, to convey him and his adherents to Wales before the hostile army arrived. When he seemed to hesitate, they produced two right reverend prelates, clad in their pontifical robes, bearing the cross, the host, and the sacred relics of saints, on which they laid their hands, and solemnly swore to the truth of these assertions. Fitzstephen, being thus deceived, trusted himself to their mercy, and was instantly thrown into chains, and his followers maimed and tortured with such cruelty, that most of them expired under their sufferings. But when intelligence came of the approach of the Britons to relieve their companions, they set fire to the town of Wexford, and retired with Fitzstephen, and the other prisoners that survived, to an island in the harbour, called Holy Island. Hence they sent a message to Strongbow, that if he attempted in the least to disturb them, they would instantly strike off the heads of their prisoners. Convinced of their sanguinary disposition, he turned aside, being desirous to preserve the lives of those remaining, among whom, beside Fitzstephen, were the wife and children of Fitzgerald.

He marched to Waterford, where he was somewhat perplexed by the mutual animosities of petty chiefs. O'Brien Prince of Thomond, who had conceived a resentment against the Lord of Ossory, assured Strongbow, that he was unfaithful to his engagement, and proposed to join him with his troops, in order to punish him. Strongbow complied ; but the Prince of Ossory sent a message offering, on being allowed a safe conduct, to come in person, and prove the falsity of the charge. Prendergast was appointed to conduct him to the camp, and while he boldly pleaded his innocence,

his virulent accusers with great clamour insisted on his guilt, and were even preparing to put him to death. Upon this, Prendergast drew his sword, and declared, that as he trusted himself to his care, no violence should be offered him, but he would bring him home in safety. O'Brien was, of course, disappointed in his malicious designs. Strongbow then proceeded to Ferns, where he exercised royal authority, in rewarding some, and punishing others. Among the latter was the chieftain of the O'Birnes, whom he put to death for his uniform opposition to his interest. But this new sovereign of Leinster was now obliged to attend to the summons of a superior.

Henry, king of England, ordered him, by a second message, instantly to appear before him. On receiving his first orders, Strongbow had sent Raymond de Gross to Aquitain with letters to him, professing humble submission to his authority. Though this ambassador had certainly softened him a little, yet he was obliged to go off when the account came of the murder of Becket, which put the king in such consternation that he could attend to no business. Having contrived, however, to suspend the papal indignation, Henry resolved to defer no longer his intended journey to Ireland, and was in England preparing for his expedition when he sent the second message, which Strongbow resolved to attend without delay. Accordingly, he made such disposition of his affairs as the time permitted, and embarked, and met the king at Newenham, near Gloucester. Here he made profession of his allegiance, and offered to yield all his Irish possessions to the disposal of his royal master. The king at length was pacified, and allowed him to retain the rest of these in perpetuity, on his surrendering up to him the city of Dublin, and domain, with all the maritime towns and forts he acquired. He now attended him in his march through South Wales, where he seized all the castles of the chieftains, for daring to aid his subjects in their invasion of Ireland. He fixed his residence at Pembroke, while his forces were assembling at Milford.

Yet this mighty preparation produced no associations among the Irish chieftains for repelling the common danger, each being employed in securing, as he supposed, his own

CHAP. II. private interest, nor any exertions even of Roderic himself, whose downfall, it appears, would give no pain to his tributaries. All, indeed, entertained terrible ideas of British valour, which were rather increased by a late unsuccessful, though violent attack, of O'Ruarc on Dublin, in which he lost his son. Some were even ready to submit, before the invader appeared on their coast. The men of Wexford, in particular, being apprehensive of the consequence of their perfidy and cruelty, sent deputies to the king at Pembroke with submissive professions of obedience, and informing his majesty, "that they had shown their zeal for him by seizing Robert Fitzstephen, a traitor to his sovereign, who, without any warrant from his majesty, had entered their territory by force of arms, slaughtered their people, seized their lands, and attempted to make himself independent of his liege-lord; that they kept him in chains, and were ready to deliver him up to the disposal of his sovereign." The king received them very graciously, affected to commend their zeal in repelling the unjust attempt of Fitzstephen, and declared that condign punishment should be inflicted on him and all his undutiful subjects for every offence they had committed. This artifice served to preserve the life of that heroic commander.

Lands in
Ireland.

Oct. 18,
1172.

Henry, when he had completed his preparations, embarked at Milford, having first performed his solemn devotions in the cathedral of St. David, imploring the divine blessing on his pious enterprise, undertaken in the cause of the church. His fleet amounted to two and forty ships, an awful spectacle to the Irish! and entered the port of Waterford in safety. On the feast of St. Luke his forces landed, consisting, beside a number of barons, of four hundred knights and four thousand soldiers. On entering the town, Strongbow made a formal surrender of it to his sovereign, and did homage to him for the principality of Leinster. The men of Wexford now brought forward their prisoner Fitzstephen, and presented him to the king, demanding public justice against their tyrant and oppressor. Henry expressed great sorrow for the injuries they had sustained, rebuked him sternly, and sent him back to prison. Yet that sagacious adventurer soon discovered a

mode of softening his resentment. The Irish chieftains CHAP. II.
of the south, struck by this formidable armament, resolved
to make their submission without delay. Dermot M'Arthy,
prince of Desmond, first set them the example. The very
day after he landed, he presented himself before him, and
surrendered his principality, all of which, except the city
of Cork, was graciously restored to him, on condition of his
paying homage and tribute. Having proceeded as far as
Lismore, he made a circuit by Cashel, receiving, as he
passed along, the successive submissions of O'Brien of
Thomond, Donchad of Ossory, and other inferior chief-
tains of Munster, who seemed to emulate each other in
their eagerness to show their obedience. All of them pro-
fessed to be struck by the great grandeur, condescension,
and munificence, of their new sovereign.

When he arrived at Wexford, his barons were permitted Fitzste-
phen re-
leased.
to intercede for his brave subject Fitzstephen, who had not
willingly offended him, and who offered to surrender to
him all his Irish possessions. Henry was thus pacified,
and Fitzstephen, being set at liberty, resigned Wexford to
his sovereign, and was allowed to retain all his other acqui-
sitions. Having stationed garrisons in Cork, Limerick,
Waterford, and Wexford, he directed his course to Dub-
lin, of which he intended to take possession in due form,
displaying, as he marched along with his martial troops, a
formidable appearance. The Irish lords of Leinster came
forward now and submitted, engaging to become his tribu-
taries. Even O'Ruarc of Breffney, the strenuous supporter
of Roderic, who conferred on him a considerable part of
Meath, abandoned his old friend, and became the vassal of
the new sovereign.

Yet Roderic, though perplexed by this desertion, by the
power of the invaders, the factions in the provinces, and
the dissensions of his own family, would not at once resign
his title to the monarchy of Ireland. He collected his pro-
vincial troops, and entrenched himself on the banks of the
Shannon, being resolved, if possible, to preserve his own
province from subjection. Henry sent Hugh de Lacy and
William Fitzandelm, two of the barons that came over
with him, either to persuade or force him to submit; but

CHAP. II. they found him too strongly posted to be assailed, at least at that season, by their detachment. The chieftains of Ulster, too, were protected from his power by a similar mode of defence. Those who owned themselves his vassals were entertained by him in a very splendid manner at the festival of Christmas, for which he made great preparations, and had a large structure of hurdles erected in the suburbs of Dublin for the purpose. Hither they flocked from different quarters, and were dazzled by his grandeur, and delighted by his affability.

Ordi-
nances,
religious.

Being prevented by the severity of the season from obliging the refractory chieftains to submit, he had a synod called at Cashel, in order to fulfil the condition of the grant he had received from pope Adrian, and, of course, to reform the supposed abuses in religion. At this assembly, Christian, bishop of Lismore, presided as the pope's legate, (Gelasius, the primate, offering an *excuse* for not attending); and, on the part of Henry, some English prelates were present to effect the purposes of their master. A variety of ordinances were now passed, nearly similar to those already in force, of which only two are worth notice, one which exempted the persons of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts, and their lands from fines and such like secular exactions; the other, which enjoined a perfect uniformity between the English and Irish churches. Hence the ostensible object of Henry's invasion was effected, the spiritual subjection of Ireland to the see of Rome, to which, ever since, a great majority of this country have rigidly adhered.

Civil.

The king, after reserving to himself the maritime towns and some districts, had the lands that were surrendered distributed, in different portions, among the adventurers and leaders of the troops, on condition of their doing homage, and paying tribute to him. These, like their fellow-subjects in England, were governed by the English laws. On the contrary, the Irish princes were regulated by their Brehon laws and ancient customs, and differed from their former situation only in this, that they now professed allegiance to the king of England, instead of the king of Connaught. The territories acquired were formed by

Henry into shires or counties, with sheriffs and other magistrates, according to the English model; which counties, when afterwards enlarged, composed what is called the *English Pale*. Yet, even within this, there were many septs of the Irish governed by their ancient laws. This monarch, by charter, granted the city of Dublin to the citizens of Bristol, and the city of Waterford to the Ostmen, both with the usual privileges of English subjects. He appointed that a chief governor should be established, and enacted, by statute, with the assistance of his council, that the chancellor and other high officers should be empowered, on the death of a chief governor, to chuse a successor, vested with full power, until the royal pleasure should be notified.

The tempestuous winter which prevented the king from subduing the parts of Ireland that had not yet acknowledged his authority, prevented him also from getting any intelligence from England or Normandy. At length, on his arrival at Wexford, after three months residence in Dublin, he met couriers, informing him, that two cardinals, sent by the pope, to make inquisition into the death of Becket, had been waiting for him in Normandy, till their patience was exhausted, and now demanded that he would appear before them, without delay, if he wished to avoid the sentence of excommunication, and to preserve his dominions from a general interdict. Terrified by this alarming intelligence, he prepared for departing out of the kingdom with all speed. He appointed Hugh de Lacy chief governor (as he was somewhat jealous of Strongbow), Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald, his coadjutors, and made such other dispositions of his affairs as the shortness of the time would allow. De Lacy obtained from him, by a formal grant, the territory of Meath, already possessed by English troops, and John de Courcey, an adventurous baron, the whole province of Ulster, provided he could make a conquest of it.

Happy would it have been for Ireland, if a prince of such excellent qualifications had been allowed to continue in it, until he had reduced the whole country to obedience, but the insolence, injustice, and ingratitude, of his avowed

Henry
leaves
Ireland.

CHAP. II. and secret enemies recalled him from an employment so suitable to his great talents. Having embarked at Wexford on the festival of Easter, he landed in Pembroke-shire, and, to shew his piety and humility, walked on foot to the cathedral of St. David, to perform his devotions. Hence he hastened to Normandy, where he met the cardinals, whose demands were so exorbitant, that he threatened to leave them, and return to Ireland. This spirited reply caused them to propose terms more moderate, to which he agreed, and offered his submission, which they accepted, and pronounced his absolution, which was confirmed by the pope, as also the grant of Ireland made by Adrian. The holy father, however, took care to continue Peter's pence to himself, as a reward for reforming the barbarous natives, and reducing their disordered church to due regulation.

State of the
country.

Henry being obliged to depart, without completing the useful work he had begun, did not leave behind him, as observed by Davies, one true subject more than he found on coming over. The Irish chieftains, who so easily made their submission, resolved to adhere to it no longer than necessity might oblige them. One of them, O'Dempsy of Offally, refused to pay Strongbow the stated tribute, which obliged him to march and levy it by force; but, on his return, his rear-guard was furiously attacked, and, among others, Rodert de Quiny, his son-in-law, and standard-bearer, was killed. O'Ruarc of Breffney, who still enjoyed the eastern part of Meath, being displeased at some arrangements made by De Lacy in that province, of which he had a large portion, agreed that a conference should be held at Tarah to settle the dispute. Here a sanguinary scuffle took place (the blame of which is ascribed by each party to their opponents) where De Lacy, being twice rescued by Fitzgerald, with difficulty escaped, and O'Ruarc, with many of his adherents, was killed. These petty hostilities were followed by insurrections of almost all those chieftains who had lately sworn allegiance, when they understood that the English monarch was at that time involved in great difficulties.

Henry's
troubles.

His own children, for whose interest he had been so provident, made an ungrateful return to him for his paternal

care. Henry, his eldest son, who was married to the daughter of Louis VII of France, being excited by that monarch to aim at the sovereign power, rose up in rebellion against his father. His party was joined by the rest of his sons, who laid claims to different portions of his dominions, and by many barons, both in England and France, who could not bear the restraint of a regular government. In his difficulty he was obliged to recall a great part of his troops from Ireland, and to send for Earl Strongbow to his aid, who hastened to Normandy with all speed. CHAP. II.

The alacrity with which he came to his assistance, gained him so much the confidence of the king, that he appointed him chief governor of Ireland, with discretionary powers to act in its present troubled state as he might think most expedient. On his return, he found the army so much dissatisfied with Hervey of Mountmorres, their leader, that he was obliged to transfer the command to Raymond le Gross, who had gained their favour. His forces, however, were much diminished, as the new chief governor had orders to send the garrisons of Waterford, and other towns, with Fitzstephen, Milo de Cogan, and many more of the first adventurers, to join the royal troops in France and England. Yet, with an army thus reduced, he was ready to act wherever the occasion required. Strongbow
chief go-
vernor.
1174.

Strongbow' having improvidently dissipated the money destined for the pay of his troops, found it necessary to send them on some expedition to seek for plunder. Accordingly, he desired Raymond to march to Offally to chastise some petty lords there for their disobedience. He instantly obeyed; ravaged the country without resistance; then proceeded with his plunder to Lismore, where he committed similar depredations. Returning by the seaside, he had the spoil, in order to have it conveyed to Waterford, put aboard some vessels lying at anchor, which were assailed by thirty barks from Cork (then subject to M^cArthy of Desmond, as Henry had withdrawn his forces), but the barks were defeated, and eight of them were taken. Raymond, hastening to their aid during the conflict, was attacked by the prince of Desmond, who was also defeated. Exploits of
Raymond.

CHAP. II. Sensible of his consequence, Raymond demanded of Strongbow his sister Basilea in marriage, but was refused, which caused him to return to Wales in disgust. The army, of course, was entrusted to Hervey, who, being desirous to distinguish himself, prevailed on Strongbow to accompany him on an expedition to Munster, to punish insurgents. They proceeded, and gave orders for a body of Ostmen from the garrison of Dublin to join them at Cashel, but these were unfortunately defeated on their march by O'Brien of Thomond, with the loss of four hundred killed, and their four principal commanders. This disaster obliged Strongbow to retreat with all haste to Waterford, and caused most of the Irish chieftains in Leinster, and even Donald Kevanagh himself, to rise up in arms against the English.

Strongbow immediately sent for Raymond to Wales, offering a compliance with all his demands. He hastened his preparations, and landed at Waterford with thirty knights, a hundred horsemen, and three hundred archers. Immediately he marched along with Strongbow to Wexford, leaving a garrison at Waterford, which was furiously attacked by the inhabitants, who had previously murdered all the unarmed English of every age and sex. The garrison, however, having retreated to the citadel, repulsed them with great spirit, and obliged them to make a submission.

In the mean while Raymond obtained Basilea in marriage at Wexford, and with her a large portion of lands, and the office of constable of Leinster. The very day after he was obliged to leave his bride, and march with his brother-in-law against Roderic, who had suddenly passed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, expelled the English colonists, and destroyed their forts. He retreated, however, on the arrival of his opponents, who slew a hundred and fifty in the pursuit.

Leinster being now brought to due subjection, and Donald Kevanagh killed in a skirmish, Strongbow sent Raymond with a chosen body of three hundred men to attack Limerick, of which the prince of Thomond had taken possession, and bade defiance to the English power. On their

arrival they found that the bridges of the Shannon had CHAP. II.
 been previously broken down, but discovering a place somewhat fordable, they passed to the opposite side, with the loss of only three men, which so terrified the enemy, that they fled without resistance. A considerable number was killed in the flight.

Roderic, convinced at length by experience of the instability of his subordinate chieftains, sent three deputies to make proposals of submission to Henry, who was now at Windsor, after having happily subdued all his enemies. There the treaty was concluded, by which Roderic was to hold the kingdom of Connaught and other sovereignties, paying to Henry, as his liege lord, a tribute of the tenth of all the merchantable hides on his lands, and was to give up all claim to the districts possessed by the English. Submission of O'Connor, &c. 1175.

The successes of Raymond, which occasioned the submission of Roderic, and his popularity with the army, excited such envy in the breast of Hervey of Mountmorres, that he sent emissaries to Henry, informing him, that he made use of improper methods to gain the favour of the soldiers, and was forming schemes in opposition to his interests. Accordingly, the king, who harboured a mean jealousy of the adventurers, unworthy of his great mind, sent four commissioners to Dublin, with orders for two of them to conduct Raymond to him, and two to stay in order to watch the conduct of Strongbow and the other lords. Raymond, on their arrival, declared his willingness to obey; but, before he could set off, intelligence came, that O'Brien of Thomond had besieged Limerick, and reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Strongbow, though afflicted with indisposition, prepared to oppose them; but the soldiers refused to march, unless under the command of their favourite general, Raymond. The commissioners, of course, were obliged to allow him to conduct them, and he proceeded, accompanied by some Irish confederates, under the command of the chieftains of Kinselagh, and Ossory, who professed a great aversion to O'Brien. This leader, however, when he heard of his approach, left Limerick, and lay in wait for him in a dangerous defile near Cashel, but his entrenchments were stormed by an

CHAP. II. inferior force with great slaughter, and he was obliged to make an humble submission to the English general. The Irish confederates stood spectators of the combat, being resolved to attack the vanquished. Raymond having received hostages from O'Brien, and also from Roderic, who had made an agreement to that effect with Henry, marched his forces into Desmond, being invited by M'Carthy, the prince, to protect him from his own son, who had thrown him into prison, and seized his principality. The English general restored the father to his dominions, who cast his son into that prison from which he himself was rescued, and soon after put him to death. His benefactor he rewarded with a large portion of land in the county of Kerry.

Death of Strongbow. In the midst of these successes, Raymond received private intelligence of the death of earl Strongbow, which obliged him to quit Limerick with his garrison, and leave it to the protection of O'Brien, who entered into solemn engagements to keep it safe for the English monarch. But Raymond and his troops had scarcely passed over one end of the bridge, till O'Brien pulled down the other, and set the town on fire, declaring it should be no longer the nest of foreigners.

Character. Earl Strongbow, whose death was so much lamented by his friends, was a man of a tall stature, effeminate face, and insinuating manners; neither dejected by misfortune nor elated by success; diffident in forming military plans himself, but bold and vigorous in executing those of others; harsh and severe in supporting what he thought his rightful inheritance, and the interests of his master, especially when provoked at the perfidy and savage ferocity of those whose country he had invaded. The Irish clergy, who had a great aversion to him, tell us, in their imperfect records, that with remorse and horror he confessed at his death he was smitten by the saints of Ireland.

Fitzandelm, his successor. The council, with the concurrence of the commissioners, appointed Raymond his successor, until the king's will should be known; but, notwithstanding the favourable representations of these, urged by his usual jealousy, he removed him, and appointed William Fitzandelm governor,

who was his own relation, a man prejudiced against the CHAP. II.
 original adventurers, unfit for vigorous measures, and only
 active in endeavouring, by petty artifice, to enrich himself
 and his adherents. In his train, beside a number of knights,
 was the pope's legate, and another ecclesiastic, who con-
 vened, with the permission of the chief governor, an as-
 sembly of the Irish clergy at Waterford, where Henry's
 right to the sovereignty of Ireland was declared by the
 solemn authority of the supreme pontiff. By means of fraud
 and cunning Fitzandelm prevailed on many of the origi-
 nal adventurers to give up their possessions, and take others
 that were more exposed to the incursions of the natives.
 The Irish chieftains despised him for the specious flattery
 by which he attempted to gain their favour, and his own
 countrymen detested him for the insincerity of his profes-
 sions, and the schemes he formed against their interests.
 Some of the most adventurous of these being disappointed
 under the present chief ruler of the advantages they ex-
 pected to gain, went out on distant expeditions in search
 of either new settlements or plunder.

Among these John de Courcey was the most conspicuous. De Courcey
invades
Ulster.
 He was a man of great bodily strength and undaunted
 courage, and prevailed on some others of like dispositions
 with himself, among whom was Armoric of St. Lawrence,
 to accompany him in an expedition to Ulster, where for-
 merly Henry had allowed him such lands as he could ac-
 quire by the sword. Yet the king's subsequent treaty with
 Roderic abrogated this permission, since the country pos-
 sessed by the natives was allowed to continue under his
 sovereignty, on paying to Henry the stipulated tribute.
 De Courcey, however, being not over scrupulous in this
 point, marched his troops, amounting to about five hun-
 dred men, into Ulster, and on the fourth day arrived at
 Down, which he seized in opposition to the solemn remon-
 strance of Vivian, the pope's legate, who happened to be
 there, and reminded him of the injustice of his conduct.
 There he fortified himself, and seemed determined to main-
 tain the possession he had acquired. On this a tumultuary
 body of about ten thousand, under the command of the
 Prince of Uldah, marched to attack him in the town, but

CHAP. II. he went on boldly to meet them, and by means of his regular discipline prevailed over the confused multitude, whom he routed with great slaughter. Some time after he was attacked by fifteen thousand more with the same success, who left many of their brave chieftains on the field.

In a third and more desperate engagement he was put to a terrible trial: returning with a great number of cattle, which he had taken from the territory of a chieftain called M'Mahon, who had deceived him by a pretence of friendship, he was suddenly attacked in a narrow defile by eleven thousand of the Irish, who lay there in ambuscade for him, and put him in great confusion by the cattle trampling on his troops on every side. Yet, though violently assailed, he made a steady resistance, and frequently repulsed them with the loss of many a chief. M'Mahon fell in the first attack, and De Courcey at last, after much difficulty, succeeded in gaining a stronghold which he had fortunately erected. Hither he was pursued by the enemy, who encamped within half a mile of him, with an intent to surround him the next day. But he resolved to attack them that very night in their camp, where they lay in careless security, as he was told by Armoric of St. Lawrence, who had ventured to explore their position. Accordingly, he marched against them in deep silence, and all at once made a furious onset with loud clamour, which put them in such terror that they were butchered without resistance. Scarcely two hundred, it is said, escaped the carnage, while only two of the assailants were lost in the tumult of the night.

De Cogan. While De Courcey was thus employed in Ulster, Milo
Connaught. de Cogan made an excursion for plunder into Connaught, to which he was invited by Murrough, son of Roderic O'Connor, who rose up in rebellion against his father. He took with him about five hundred men; but when the people heard of his approach they depopulated the country before him, which obliged him, for want of provisions, to make a disgraceful retreat to Dublin, galled by the perpetual attacks of the natives, and to leave Murrough to the resentment of his countrymen, who, with the consent of his father, ordered his eyes to be put out. It was a custom of

the Irish to deposit their provision in the churches, which were found a safe repository among all their domestic wars, but the English had no scruple to take them from these, which caused the people, in Milo's late expedition, to burn down those sacred edifices, in order to distress his army. The country, indeed, at this time, suffered severely, both by the excursions of the English, and the sanguinary disputes of petty chieftains, who not only opposed the foreigners, but each other, and exercised all acts of cruelty and perfidy, that it was in their power to accomplish. Other sons of Roderic excited a war, which was carried on with such bloody violence, that in one battle sixteen young lords were slain, the heirs apparent of the principal families of Connaught. Happy would it have been for Ireland, if Henry, notwithstanding the insufficiency of his claims, had reduced the entire country to submission, and allowed it to enjoy the blessings of a regular government.

Fitzandelm, the chief governor, being removed on account of his vicious administration, the king appointed Hugh De Lacy his successor, a man in every respect qualified for that important office. He promoted the interest of the English adventurers, yet protected the natives from injury, and in order to encourage a coalition of the two parties, he married himself the daughter of Roderic O'Connor. Yet the king, through unjust representations, thought proper to recall him, and appoint two others in his room; but being convinced of his error, restored him in three months. The effects of a wise and strenuous administration appeared in every part of the country that was immediately under his care, but particularly in the province of Leinster, which was in a peaceable and prosperous state.

Some incidents which took place about this time may not improperly be introduced here. Henry granted to Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitzstephen the territory of Cork, to other persons that of Limerick and Waterford, on condition of their all doing the usual homage to him and his heirs, reserving to himself the cities with a district adjoining. Also he renewed his former grant of all Meath to Hugh de Lacy, and gave the greatest part of Connaught to William Fitzandelm, making donations of a similar kind to others; which

CHAP. II. shows he was not scrupulous in observing the agreement he had made with Roderic. Cogan and Fitzstephen, after some disputes with the natives, made a compromise, and got a considerable portion of the territory allotted them. Herbert Fitzherbert, who had obtained the principality of Limerick, having resigned the grant, on account of the peculiar hostility of the natives, it was conferred on Philip de Braosa, who was attended by a body of Welshmen of profligate manners. But when he marched to it in military array, in order to take possession of it, the natives set fire to the town, which terrified him from making any farther attempt.

Murder of
De Cogan,
&c.

1182.

A horrid act of treachery was committed a few days after. Milo de Cogan and his son-in-law, Ralph Fitzstephen, son of Robert, having gone to Lismore, in order to hold a conference with the citizens of Waterford, were invited to spend the night at the house of an Irishman called M'Tire, who was particularly intimate with them, but the wretch assassinated them both, with five more. He then made his escape to M'Arthy, who joined him in an attack on Robert Fitzstephen in Cork, the young man's father; but by the aid of a body of troops that fortunately arrived from Wexford by sea, under the command of his nephew, Raymond le Gross, they were defeated. Foiled thus in their attempt, the enemy were obliged to raise the siege, and sue for peace; but poor Fitzstephen, the gallant adventurer, who had lost another son some time before, was so much distressed on the occasion as to lose his reason.

Fresh ad-
venturers.

Maurice Fitzgerald being six years dead, and Hervey of Mountmorres having retired to a monastery, the king, in order to supply the place of the original adventurers, who had now left the stage, sent over Richard de Cogan, brother to Milo, and Philip Barry, two bold chieftains, and with the latter his brother Gerald, an ecclesiastic, better known by the name of Cambrensis from Wales, who wrote a history of the English transactions in Ireland during that period. In the winter preceding (1181), Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, died in Normandy, in which he was in exile, by orders of Henry, for remonstrating in the council of Lateran in Rome, in 1179, against the conduct of the English colonists in Ireland. He was succeeded by John

Comyn, an Englishman, recommended by Henry to the pope, who confirmed his choice. These English ecclesiastics had violent altercations with the native clergy, which served to excite discontent. But the king himself tended to increase it by removing De Lacy from the government, and conferring it on Philip de Braosa, a man only conspicuous for scandalous acts of rapacity and oppression. CHAP. II.

This abominable ruler enjoyed his authority but a very short time, and was succeeded by the king's youngest son, John, who entered on his government in 1185, when he was in the eighteenth year of his age. When he was only twelve, he was appointed by his father, Lord of Ireland, a situation that Roderic seemed to possess by the last treaty, which Henry did not think proper to observe, when the interest of his son was concerned. He landed at Waterford with a splendid train of Normans and English, both military and ecclesiastic expectants. Prince John, lord of Ireland.

The fame of his power and dignity inclined the most refractory of the Irish chieftains to make submission; and immediately on his arrival, the native lords of Leinster, who had always adhered to the English government, flocked to Waterford to pay their dutiful respects; but the gay courtiers in his train, observing them approach with their national dress, odd looking hair, and bushy beards, openly showed their contempt for them, and when they attempted, according to their custom, to kiss the young prince, his attendants pushed them back, and the whole assembly, with loud laughter, began to pluck their beards, and otherwise insult them. His attendants insult the Irish.

The Irish lords, though plain in their appearance, were not destitute of national pride, and, being sensible of the least affront, left the court in a rage. Those they met on the way hastening to the prince, on the same errand with themselves, they turned back, by informing them of the contemptuous manner in which they were received. They then spread themselves over the country in every direction, and excited the chieftains to lay aside their ancient animosities, and combine against the English, who had an implacable abhorrence to their whole nation. What treatment, they justly observed, might those expect, who seem- Dangerous combination.

CHAP. II. ed unwilling to submit, while they, who came immediately forward to offer their obedience, were so grossly insulted. Their representations had the desired effect, and the chieftains bound themselves, by a solemn league, to use every exertion to free their country from the invaders. The general discontent was, if possible, still more encreased by the rapacity of the courtiers lately come over, who not only strove, by fraud and legal chicanery, to deprive the citizens in the maritime towns of their properties, but also seized by violence the lands which the Irish held under English lords. Those, thus violently expelled from their possessions, hastened to join their countrymen, who were preparing for war, and directed them where their attacks would be most successful.

English
settlements
assailed.

The English settlements were now furiously assailed on every side; whole bands and garrisons, with their leaders, were put to the sword. The courtiers, who were the cause of the war, shrunk within their fortifications, and left the original colonists alone to stand the conflict. The bold exertions of these were in some places attended with success. Cork was preserved by Theobald Fitzwalter, founder of the family of Ormond, and Meath by William Petit. But here was assassinated the late excellent chief governor, Hugh de Lacy. By attempting to erect a fortress on the site of an ancient abbey, he offended the superstition of the Irish, and, while he was thus employed, one of these, a common labourer, enraged at the profanation, cut off his head with an axe, while he was stooping down, and made his escape to the hostile army of his countrymen.

De Courcey
chief go-
vernor.

After an interval of eight months, Henry, being at length informed of the distracted state of the country, recalled the prince, with his gaudy train, and appointed John de Courcey the chief governor. This valiant baron, during the government of De Lacy, was exposed to a variety of difficulties and dangers in maintaining his settlement in Ulster. Between Newry and Dundalk he had some sanguinary conflicts with a chieftain of Argial, who had destroyed one of his ships from England, laden with stores and provisions, and had massacred the whole crew. Yet, though he sustained great losses, he was still able to pre-

serve his conquests. Such a man, both active and intrepid, CHAP. II.
 was judged by Henry the most fit person for chief gover-
 nor in so hazardous a conjuncture.

Accordingly, he exerted himself in various operations Death of
Roderic
O'Connor.
 with great vigour, repelling the invaders, and terrifying
 them by the fame of his valour. In his exertions he was
 very much favoured by the dissensions of the Irish chief-
 tains, who were engaged in bloody conflicts among them-
 selves, in almost every quarter of the island, but particu-
 larly in Connaught, where the rebellious sons of Roderic
 deposed their unhappy father, and obliged him to take re-
 fuge in the monastery of Cong, in which he died at an ad-
 vanced age.

Various pretenders to the monarchy of the O'Loughlin Divisions
among the
Irish.
 family having now started up, just served to destroy one
 another; and at length Connor Moienmoy, son of Roderic,
 succeeded to the throne. During this scene of confusion,
 De Courcey, who had hitherto been on the defensive,
 marched rashly into Connaught with a considerable force;
 but, being informed that the new monarch and O'Brien,
 prince of Munster, were preparing to attack him with a
 very superior force, he resolved to retreat. In his retreat,
 however, he was stopped by another immense army of the
 confederates, through which he was obliged to cut his way,
 with the loss of many a brave knight.

The difficulties to which he was reduced, encouraged Favourable
to De Cour-
cey.
 the chieftains of Ulster and Argial to attack the English
 settlements in their territories, but many of them were
 slain in the rash attempt; and, in order to excite terror,
 he himself stormed and burned the city of Armagh, where
 many of his enemies had assembled. Thus was the ap-
 pearance of tranquillity restored, which was not interrupted
 by incursions from Connaught, where the contests of dif-
 ferent parties afforded sufficient employment to each other.
 Here Connor Moienmoy fell by the hand of an assassin,
 whom his own brother had hired; and his brother was slain
 himself by a son of Connor. Hence anarchy and slaughter
 prevailed over the whole province. Thus was De Courcey
 enabled, by his own vigour, and the dissensions of his
 enemies, if not to extend, at least to maintain the English

CHAP. II. settlements, until the death of Henry, occasioned chiefly
July 1189. by the undutiful conduct of his sons, produced the advancement of a higher favourite.

Hugh De
 Lacy his
 successor.

John having, as lord of Ireland, the management of affairs here during the reign of his brother Richard, who was absent on the crusades, removed De Courcey from his government, and conferred it on Hugh De Lacy, son of the late illustrious chief governor, who had insinuated himself into his good graces. De Courcey, enraged at the ungrateful return he met with for his services, retired to Ulster in disgust.

Armoric's
 heroic
 band.

This disunion among the settlers having induced the native chieftains to take the advantage of it, they determined to forget their ancient animosities, and combine against the common enemy. At the head of these was Cathal, a young warrior, one of the surviving sons of Roderic, who had obtained the sovereignty of Connaught. De Courcey, apprehensive of his danger, sent for his trusty friend, Armoric of St. Lawrence, who was absent on some petty expedition, with a body of two hundred foot and thirty cavalry. On his march to his aid, through part of Connaught, Cathal surrounded him with a great army. The cavalry intended at first to make their escape, but being moved by the affecting arguments of their companions, they destroyed their horses, and resolved to share their fate. Having ordered two of the youngest to retire to a neighbouring eminence, in order to report the event to De Courcey, this resolute band of heroes marched firmly on to the conflict. Their opponents they attacked with great impetuosity, and, after slaying a thousand, overpowered with numbers, fell gloriously in the field of battle. Here the vanity of Cathal founded an abbey, called *De Colle Victoriæ*, in order to record a victory which reflected such honour on the enemy.

Earl-mar-
 shall's ad-
 ministra-
 tion.

About this time Dublin was nearly destroyed by an accidental fire, which added to the calamities that war and commotions had produced. In order to remedy these evils, John removed De Lacy, and substituted William Petit in his place, who was soon succeeded by William earl-marshall of England. This nobleman, by marrying Isabella, daughter of earl Strongbow by the princess of Leinster,

possessed large properties, and, of course, great consequence CHAP II.
 in Ireland; but his administration was rather unfortunate.
 Though the English obtained some partial successes, and
 derived some benefit from the death of O'Brien, prince of
 Thomond, yet the advantage, on the whole, remained on
 the side of their opponents. Their fortresses in Munster
 were levelled by Cathal; thrice were they foiled by
 M^cArthy of Desmond, who drove them from Limerick,
 and at length obliged them to surrender up Cork to him,
 after they were defeated, near that city, in a decisive battle,
 by the combined forces of Connaught and some other dis-
 tricts.

Hamo de Valois, who succeeded the earl-marshal, endeavoured to support the expense of his administration by seizing the possessions of the church, particularly some lands belonging to the see of Dublin; which roused the resentment of archbishop Comyns, who declared, in a rage, that the images of the saints shed tears, and were covered over with sweat and blood, to shew their abhorrence of his conduct. He then endeavoured to enrich himself by seizing the property of the laity, for which he was not allowed to escape with similar impunity; for John, who had obtained the throne, soon after his accession, removed him with disgrace, and obliged him to pay a thousand marks.* 1197.
Hamo de
Valois.

He was succeeded by Meyler Fitzhenry, natural son of Henry I, and one of the most distinguished barons who had come over adventurers to Ireland. Though he possessed, it is allowed, excellent abilities for government, he was for a long time unable to execute any considerable enterprise, as he could obtain no assistance from the king, engaged with his concerns in France, and was rather cramped in his operations by the English lords in the country, who aimed at a state of independence. 1199.
Fitzhenry,
chief go-
vernor.

One of these, William De Burgo, to whom the custody of Limerick was committed, and some lands granted formerly to the English monarchy in Connaught, collecting a body of troops, took possession of that city, and having entered into a league with Carragh O'Connor, a relative of Barons be-
come fac-
tious.

* This, considering the difference of the weight of metal, and value of money, would be nearly equal to ten thousand pounds sterling.

CHAP. II. Cathal, expelled that prince, and placed the other on the throne of Connaught in his room. Cathal, whose boisterous valour exhibited him at first as a military hero, fled into Ulster, and applying in a suppliant manner to Hugh O'Nial of Tir-owen, prevailed on him, and some other chieftains, to take up arms in his behalf. These also induced the English barons, De Courcey and De Lacy, to enter into alliance with him. Thus were the English, by taking part with the Irish contending chieftains, opposed to each other. After a bloody conflict, Carragh and De Burgo gained the victory, and O'Nial's subjects, offended at his defeat, deposed him, and set up a successor, who was slain in battle by the chieftain of Tirconnel, which caused furious combats among the surviving claimants of the family. Cathal, however, by magnificent promises, brought over De Burgo to his side, and both marched into Connaught to depose Carragh, who died valiantly in battle, in defence of the throne he had obtained. De Burgo was then deprived of the benefit he expected from his versatility; for Cathal, after his restoration, refused to perform his engagement, and when he endeavoured to compel him, he was repulsed with disgrace. Enraged at his disappointment, he made a second inroad into his dominions; but before he could effect his purpose, he was recalled to the defence of the city of Limerick, which was threatened by a more formidable enemy.

De Burgo
reduced.

Meyler Fitzhenry, the chief governor, observing that he renounced the authority of his royal master, having collected some soldiers, marched to Limerick to punish him for his disloyalty. On his way he was joined by the forces of Cathal and O'Brien of Thomond, and thus exhibited an English chief governor at the head of native Irish troops, marching against one of his countrymen. De Burgo was obliged to capitulate, and was allowed to renew his allegiance. In order to gain the favour of the chief governor, O'Brien and Cathal made both very large concessions, but, particularly the latter, who surrendered up two-thirds of his territory to king John, and engaged to pay annually for the rest a tribute of a hundred marks.

De Cour-
cey.

While Fitzhenry was reducing De Burgo to obedience, Hugh de Lacy, and his brother Walter, being armed with

authority from the king, proceeded to make an attack on CHAP. II.
 De Courcey, who, having retired to Ulster in disgust, had also
 also aimed at independence. Hugh De Lacy had shewn
 the same disposition, but being of a more flexible temper,
 and jealous of the growing power of this lord, excited the
 resentment of the king against him. by relating his expres-
 sions of abhorrence against his majesty, not only for his
 mean and tyrannical conduct, but especially for the sup-
 posed murder of his nephew prince Arthur, the rightful
 heir of the crown. Having received a commission from the
 king to send him prisoner to England, De Lacy marched
 into Ulster to attack him, but was defeated with great loss
 in an engagement at Down. De Courcey, however, being
 conscious of his inability to continue a war against the whole
 power of the English government, consented to submit, and
 gave sureties for appearing before the king, after receiving
 a safe conduct for his journey. He was not, it appears,
 successful in gaining the favour of his sovereign, for after
 his death, which took place about this time, his title of Earl
 of Ulster, and his estates in that province, were conferred
 by the king on Hugh De Lacy, in preference to his son
 Milo. The story of his challenging a French champion,
 and of his feats of bodily strength, is a mere fiction.

Fitzhenry, having not only recovered Limerick, but also
 Cork, which the death of M'Arthy had rendered more
 accessible, and extended the English power in different
 parts, was summoned, together with Hugh De Lacy, to the
 support of his sovereign, who, being deprived of his domi-
 nions in France, was also threatened with danger in Eng-
 land. During his absence, while Walter De Lacy supplied
 his place, a plague prevailed in Leinster, of which many
 died in Dublin; and soon after a massacre was committed
 by some clans from Wicklow of three hundred citizens, who
 left the city to enjoy a little recreation during Easter week.
 Of this unhappy event the commemoration is still continued.

Though the De Lacies, it appears, had been in great Arrival of
King John.
 favour at court, the two brothers, Hugh and Walter De
 Lacy, in a certain instance, gave the king great offence. Not
 only, like too many of their countrymen, had they distressed
 the Irish by their oppression, and embezzled the public re-

CHAP. II. venue, but also harboured William de Braosa, who had fled from the resentment of the king. This nobleman, who was lord of Brecknock, and had received considerable grants in Thomond, was reduced to great difficulties by the indiscretion of his wife; for when the king, apprehensive of a conspiracy in England on account of the interdict and excommunication, sent to Braosa, demanding hostages, his wife observed, that she would never entrust her children to one who had murdered his own nephew. This severe remark was no doubt very grating to John, but unhappily his resentment fell on the husband, though he had rebuked his wife for her indiscretion; and being obliged to leave the kingdom, he fled to Dublin to the De Lacies for protection. The king followed with some forces, being resolved to punish both him and his protectors, and arrived in Dublin in 1210. Braosa and the De Lacies now made their escape to France: but Braosa having left his wife and children behind him, they fled to Scotland, where they were seized by one of John's agents, and being removed for confinement to the castle of Bristol, died there of want. The De Lacies were more fortunate, having got their possessions in Ireland restored at the intercession of the abbot of Saint Tourin, in whose service they were engaged, but were obliged to pay large fines to the king.

His employment here.

During his continuance in Ireland he reduced some fortresses, and received the external submission of some chieftains. However, he found it inexpedient to restore to his principality Murtoth O'Brien of Thomond, who had been deprived by his subjects for his concessions to the English government during the administration of Fitzhenry, and was obliged to allow his successor, Donald Carbragh O'Brien, to retain the principality. The only favour he could obtain for the dethroned prince, was to get him released from confinement. O'Nial of Tir-Owen affected also to pay him submission, but refused to attend him till two hostages were given for his security, and on his return disclaimed all obedience. He attacked the English garrisons on his frontier, but could obtain no decisive success. In Connaught, indeed, Cathal, who was so formidable some time before, seems to have been reduced to real subjection. He made humble complaints

to the king against the encroachments of the colonists, and had his grievances redressed. The English barons in Ireland were also reduced to obedience. For the benefit of these, and of all who owned his authority, the king had a regular code of English laws established, and had made a more complete division of his lands into counties, where sheriffs and other officers were appointed. On his departure the administration was committed to the Bishop of Norwich, who displayed great ability.

Though the king, as it appears, had obtained very extensive authority in Ireland, yet he was obliged to submit to severe restraints in England, where his conduct had given great offence. His supposed murder of his nephew, his expulsion from his dominions in France, his mean submission to the Pope, his want of honour, his cowardice and tyranny, had excited against him, in that country, universal disgust. At length the barons rose up against him, and compelled him to grant the famous Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty in England. But as soon as he had collected foreign soldiers, he retracted all his grants, and involved his country in a destructive civil war, in which the barons were assisted by forces from France. In the midst of such commotions he ended his inglorious reign.

His general
conduct
and death.

CHAPTER III.

Public improvements—Great charter in reign of Henry III. —Death of the protector—Fate of his son—Disorders in Connaught—In Munster—Continue in reign of Edward I. —Irish refused the benefit of English laws—A parliament —Piers Gavaston—Edward II defeated in Scotland—Edward Bruce lands in Ireland—Opposed by De Burgo—Treachery and death of Fedlim—Progress of Bruce—His retreat—Defeat and death—Durable effect of the invasion—Degenerate English—Unfair distinctions—Unhappy end of the king—Prosecutions for witchcraft, &c.—Inattention of Edward III—Cruel attack of the Irish—Repulsed in some places—Some barons soothed—Punished—Inglorious treaty—Disturbance renewed—Severe ordinance—Exertions of Ufford—Impotence of administration—Regulations of Rokeby—Vain attempt of Lionel—Statute of Kilkenny—Pensions to Irish chiefs—Weakness of Richard II—His arrival with a great army—Insurrections on his departure —His second expedition to Ireland—His return and cruel death.

CHAP. **ALMOST** fifty years had now elapsed since the arrival of the
 III. first British adventurers in Ireland, and at the conclusion
 of this period there was a very sensible alteration in the appearance of the country. A great many castles of stone and mortar had been raised in the interior parts of the island, where few or none were perceived before, as those built by the Danes were confined to the maritime towns.* The political state of the country was also very much changed, as the colonists had extended their settlements in different directions, and either deposed the native princes or confined them within narrow limits.

Public
 improve-
 ments.

* The round towers, it is true, were erected in some of the interior parts. These, it is supposed, were also built by the Danes, and were a kind of bell-fries, placed adjacent to the churches, that were made of wood, or of clay and wattles.

Though Henry III succeeded his father at the age of nine years, yet the affairs of government were conducted with great success by that able minister William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, protector of England. The *magna charta* of king John he got renewed, and by his prudence and moderation put an end to the civil war. This charter was also extended to the English colonists in Ireland, with alterations suitable to local circumstances; affording even more indulgence to the aristocracy, whose power was increased, and often abused, by their distance from the seat of majesty. It still remains extant in the Red Book of the Irish exchequer, and shows, that the English colonists of Ireland were united with their fellow-subjects of England, under the same king, laws, and privileges.

The lord protector being attached to Ireland, on account of the large possessions he held there, as representative of earl Strongbow, his death, which took place after a short continuance in power, proved peculiarly unfortunate for that country. Hubert De Burgo, who succeeded him, was also an able and honest minister, but was soon removed from his office by the faction of the nobles, and the inconstancy of the king. The government of England was then conferred on Peter des Rosches, bishop of Winchester, who proved himself an unworthy successor to the late excellent ministers. Induced by his advice, and by his own natural inclination, the king showed himself peculiarly attached to foreigners, especially Italians, on whom great emoluments were conferred, to the detriment of the English barons, who were highly offended at his partiality. During all this long reign, and the one succeeding, there is little to relate respecting Ireland, but the petty disputes and violent contests of the English colonists among themselves, and the oppression of the natives by their unjust exercise of power. Of course, a particular recital, or adherence to the exact order of time, would be neither agreeable nor instructive to the reader.

William, earl Marshall, son of the late protector, being descended from Strongbow and the princess Eva, beside his English estates, found himself entitled to large possessions in Ireland. On part of these Hugh De Lacy laid a

CHAP.
III.

1216.

Great charter in reign of Henry III.

1219.

Death of the protector

CHAP. claim, and being assisted by O'Nial, the prince of Tir-Owen,
III. attempted to seize it by force. Hence, William was obliged to come over to defend his property, and, after a warfare of alternate success and devastation, patched up a kind of a truce with his opponents. Having died in 1231, he was succeeded by his brother Richard, a nobleman of high spirit and great valour, which, being supposed dangerous by the king in one of his ample patrimony, induced his majesty, under pretence of his carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, not only to refuse him the investiture of his estates, but to order him into exile. Richard now came over to Ireland, where, from his family connections, and great property, he had numerous partizans; and returning with a body of armed men, seized the castle of Pembroke, resolved, as it seemed, to assert his claims by force of arms, which so terrified the king that he rescinded the sentence of exile, and afforded him the investiture he desired. So far he was able to effect his purpose, but an act of base treachery succeeded.

Fate of his son. Richard having afterwards entered into a confederacy for the banishment of the king's foreign favourites, Winchester prevailed on his majesty to send letters to Ireland, under the great seal, directed to Maurice Fitzgerald the chief governor, Hugh and Walter De Lacy, Geoffry de Maurisco, Richard De Burgo, and some other lords, allowing them in perpetuity all the Irish estates of earl Richard, on condition of their seizing him, and sending his body, dead or alive, to the king. These letters, which were also signed by that base minister and eleven of his minions, afforded a tempting offer to those treacherous barons, who formed a scheme for his destruction. In order to induce him to come to Ireland, they made an attack upon his property, which obliged him to come over for its defence; and Maurisco, pretending an attachment to his cause, assured him, that on a proper exertion of his great powers, he could bring the whole country under his sway. Being thus prevailed on to make the trial, he seized the city of Limerick and several castles, when the English barons, with affected terror, fled before him. They then proposed to hold a conference with him, in order to adjust the terms of a truce, de-

elaring their determination to resign the island to him, unless the king would send immediate assistance. Accordingly they met, with a force nearly equal, on the plains of Kildare, and he having, by the advice of Maurisco, refused a truce, was told, that the sword must settle the business on the very ground where they stood. Immediately Maurisco deserted him with eighty followers, and left him, with only fifteen brave attendants from Wales, to resist a hundred and fifty. Disdaining to fly, he made a desperate defence even with these few, but after some bloodshed, being thrown from his horse, he received a stab in the back, which in a few days put an end to his life.

The discontents excited by this vile action, both in England and Ireland, caused the disgrace of Winchester and his associates. Gilbert, brother to the late earl, was invested with the lands, together with the office of earl-marshall. For some time, however, he fell under the king's displeasure, but being restored to favour, and having gained additional consequence by his being married to a daughter of Alexander, king of Scotland, he gave a check to the depredations committed on his property by the Irish barons, who showed great eagerness in dividing the spoil. Maurice Fitzgerald, in order to appease him, declared upon oath, before the king and lords of England, that he was not concerned in the murder of earl Richard, and proposed, as a proof of his sincerity, to establish a convent of monks, whose prayers should be constantly offered up for the repose of his soul.

The desire to give a connected narrative of the late transactions, prevented notice being taken sooner of various contests which took place in different parts of Ireland. The whole kingdom of Connaught, on the demise of the reigning prince, Cathal, had been granted by Henry in reversion to Richard De Burgo, successor to William, the baron so turbulent in the reign of John. This grant was made while Richard's kinsman, Hugh De Burgo, was prime minister, and can hardly be supposed suitable to the stipulations formerly made with Cathal; but the death of that prince soon brought the matter to issue. Regardless of this grant, the Irish of Connaught, on his decease, by the influence of

Disor-
ders in Con-
naught.

- CHAP. O'Nial, conferred the regal dignity on a brother of Cathal,
 III. named Turlough. This election was opposed by Geoffry
 1223. de Maurisco, the chief governor, who, without professing
 directly to support the claim of De Burgo, expelled the
 newly-elected prince, and substituted Aedh, a son of Cathal,
 in his room. Relying on the service they had done him,
 the English made demands on his province, which he re-
 sisted by force of arms, and took a son of Maurisco prisoner
 in a rash attempt to enforce them ; but being soon reduced,
 he came to request a conference with the governor, and was
 killed in a quarrel which took place between the attendants
 of the two parties. On this Turlough resumed the mo-
 1229. narchy, but was again deposed by De Burgo (now chief go-
 vernor, under the title of lord justice), who conferred that
 dignity on another son of Cathal, named Fedlim. Suppos-
 ing he would be sufficiently compliant, De Burgo made the
 usual claims on the province, which that prince, who had
 considerable talents, also resisted with great spirit, but was
 taken prisoner in defence of his territory. The governor
 now endeavoured to restore Turlough ; but Fedlim, having
 made his escape from confinement, slew him in battle, and
 1233. again took possession of his principality. On this success
 he sent a petition to the king, setting forth his own and his
 father's loyalty, and requesting leave to throw himself at his
 majesty's feet, and lay before him the treatment he had re-
 ceived from De Burgo, which liberty was promised him as
 soon as the affairs of Connaught should be peaceably set-
 tled. The king, indeed, was now inclined to listen to his
 complaint, as De Burgo had been removed from the govern-
 ment by the interest of his kinsman declining at court, and
 Maurice Fitzgerald substituted in his place. Yet, in some time
 after, the present chief governor assisted the former one in
 an unjust attempt to seize a great part of Fedlim's proper-
 ty ; who repaired to the English court for redress, and hap-
 pened to arrive there at the time Fitzgerald was declaring
 his innocence of earl Marshall's murder. However, he said
 nothing of the chief governor's injustice, but confined his
 complaint to the injury that De Burgo had committed on
 him, which induced the king, at that time probably inclined
 to equity, to give orders to have him restored to his posses-

sions. For this favour he proved himself not ungrateful, attending the king shortly after in an expedition to Wales, and being the only one of twenty Irish princes summoned that came to his aid. On his return he assisted the lord justice to reduce the chiefs of Tirconnel, who had risen up against the government in his absence; and being expelled himself from his province, under the former claim, by Walter De Burgo, successor of Richard (who had also got the lordship of Ulster by marrying the daughter of Hugh De Lacy), he collected his adherents, and took possession of his territory by force, which he retained in future against all the exertions of his opponent.

C H A P.
III.
1245.

The restraints imposed on the king by the English barons, who for some time suspended his authority, prevented him from applying any remedy to the disorders of Ireland. Of course, acts of violence and bloodshed, too frequently excited by the aggression of the English colonists, unhappily prevailed in every part of the country. In the latter period of his reign, it is true, when, by the exertions of his valiant son Edward, he got free from his restraints, he might have applied the desired remedy, by sending his son, whom he had appointed lord of Ireland, to reside there in that capacity; but the gallant youth preferred going on the expedition of the crusades, and left the country exposed to the fury of contending parties.

In Munster the hostilities were even more violent and sanguinary than those in Connaught already mentioned. Maurice Fitzgerald, being dismissed from his office of lord-deputy, for not bringing timely aid to the king in his expedition to Wales, retired into Desmond in disgust, and, in contempt of the laws, made encroachments on the territories of the Irish. Indeed the party of the Geraldines, which consisted of the family of Fitzgerald with their adherents, at this time affected to aim at a state of independence, and by their authority and severities excited the resentment of the Desmonians. Some time after the death of Maurice, which took place in 1246, the fierce and valiant race of Mac-Arthy engaged in war against the Geraldines, and after several inconsiderable contests, at length defeated them in a desperate battle, where Thomas Fitzgerald his son, eighteen

In Munster.
1245,

CHAP. barons, fifteen knights, and many more of less note, were
 III. slain.

1264.

During these bloody conflicts with the Geraldines, the M'Arthys were so far from opposing the English government, that they very honourably conducted a new chief governor who had landed on their coast. Elated with their success, they attacked some Irish septs, who had provoked their resentment, and, extending their conquests, made inroads on some districts, which Walter de Burgo affected to claim, who assailed them with a superior force, and having defeated them, and slain their leader, imposed on them severe terms of submission. On the overthrow of their Irish enemies, the Geraldines renewed their pretensions to those districts, and thus became the rivals of De Burgo, with whom they maintained a sanguinary contest, to the disgrace of the English government. At length, Richard de Capella, the chief governor, attempted to interpose his authority for the suppression of these feuds, but the Geraldines, suspecting him of partiality, took him prisoner at a conference, and confined him in a castle with some other lords. Such an outrage on the representative of majesty raised a great clamour, and an assembly was convened at Kilkenny to remedy these disorders. It was resolved that the imprisoned lords should be set at liberty, which accordingly took place. The only remedy the king could apply was writing letters to the contending barons, *commanding* them to preserve the public peace. However, Barry, an active deputy, exerted himself to restrain the Geraldines, which gave an opportunity to De Burgo to renew his demands on the territory of Connaught, but he was defeated in a decisive battle by Aedh O'Connor, the successor of Fedlim, and died shortly after.

The contests of these rival lords, and the petty feuds of their inferiors, who followed their example, spread confusion over every quarter of the kingdom, which naturally produced famine and disease. These public calamities were increased by the exactions of the king, and especially of the pope, his legates and nuncios, who had the laity stripped of their necessities, and the churches of their ornaments, in order to supply their extravagant demands.

Benefices were conferred, as in England, by the influence of the pope, on Italian ecclesiastics, who would not deign to do the duties of their profession, or to reside in the country whence they derived their incomes, and conferred, by the influence of the king, on English ecclesiastics, the most worthless of those belonging to that church, who had been neglected at home. This inequitable distribution afforded subject of complaint to the native clergy, who, considering themselves thus deprived of their right, enacted an ordinance to prevent the admission of foreigners, which was annulled by the pope. Such was the unhappy state of the kingdom at the death of Henry III, who died in the 56th year of his reign, the longest recorded in the annals of England.

The accession of his son, that great prince, Edward I, did not produce any material alteration for the better. Though he had an opportunity, as being lord of Ireland, to be acquainted with its various grievances and disorders, and had sufficient discernment to apply the most effectual remedies, yet his time and talents were entirely employed in the improvement of England, the reduction of Wales, his contentions with Scotland, and other occupations which he thought of more consequence. So little attention was paid to Ireland, that the insurgents not only took the castle of Roscommon and other fortresses, but also pierced into the most flourishing parts of Leinster; and when the chief governor, Maurice Fitzmaurice, attempted to repel them, he was himself taken prisoner in Offally. In the following year, his successor, Walter Glenvill, was defeated with great loss. Another war was excited soon after, by the inconsiderate liberality of the king himself.

His majesty having made a grant of lands in Thomond to Thomas De Clare, son to the earl of Gloucester, a martial youth, who had married the daughter of Fitzmaurice, afforded just cause of complaint to the O'Briens, the native possessors, who had of late discovered a pacific disposition. Their remonstrances were, however, treated with disdain by the young nobleman, who led troops into Thomond to enforce his claim, accompanied by Fitzmaurice, who had been released from prison. Having defeated the O'Briens

C H A P.

III.

1272.

Continue in
reign of Ed-
ward I.

1274.

CHAP. in a sanguinary engagement, with the loss of their chief,
III. he seemed to have gained a complete establishment in the property. But this chief left ten valiant sons behind him, who carried on the war with great success. They defeated the Geraldines in a decisive engagement, and obliged them, after many of their bravest knights were slain, to take refuge in a mountain, where they were surrounded; and,
 1277. being distressed with famine, they submitted to disgraceful terms of capitulation. Relinquishing all title to Thomond, they acknowledged the O'Briens to be sovereigns of it, and gave hostages to pay the *eric* for the chieftain slain; they also surrendered to the victors the castle of Roscommon, which was then in their possession, and had been lately fortified. De Clare now made pathetic representations to the king of his condition, probably with the desired success; but his principal advantage was derived from the disputes of the O'Briens among themselves, which enabled him to recover his power. Different parties of these set up two competitors for the chief dignity of Thomond, with one of whom he took part, and established him prince. His rival
 1282. then collected an army to dispute his title; but before they engaged, a leader of the tribe of M'Arthy, who had been successful in attacking the English, came secretly to the contending parties, and prevailed on them to compose their quarrels, which would render them a prey to their common enemy, whose private disputes, he declared, if they had a little patience, would give the Irish an opportunity to drive them out of the country. These disputes, indeed, at this time, were prevalent in almost every part of the kingdom, occasioned by their rapacious desire to seize each others property.

Irish refused the benefit of English laws. The inclination to commit acts of violence, too frequently displayed by the English colonists, was peculiarly detrimental to the native Irish, who resided either within or in the neighbourhood of the districts they possessed. By the regulations of the kingdom, they were excluded from the benefit of the English laws, and of course had no means of getting redress for the injuries they suffered. A few, indeed, both in the present and preceding reign, on the plea of their faithful services, were, by royal patents, admitted

to this privilege, but the great body were not allowed to obtain it. Sensible of their grievances, the Irish within the pale made frequent petitions to the throne for the protection of the English laws, and especially in the present reign, in 1278, when they offered the king, through his chief governor, Ufford, eight thousand marks for this benefit, a sum equal to eighty thousand pounds of our present money. The king, being inclined to grant their reasonable request, gave the necessary directions to have it effected; but the barons, through a desire of committing injury with impunity, threw obstructions in the way, and at length entirely frustrated the good intentions of his majesty.

The most effectual attempt in this reign to remedy the public disorders was made during the government of Sir John Wogan, a man of singular temper and discretion, who convened a parliament for that purpose, the first general assembly of that sort which took place in Ireland. Beside the writs to the lords spiritual and temporal, those sent to the sheriffs directed them to return two knights for each of the counties and liberties. The business of this assembly, though but thinly attended, was very properly directed to redress the public grievances, of which an idea may be formed by giving a sketch of the acts passed. A parliament, 1295

It was enacted, that the divisions of the counties should be made more proportionable; that the lords charged with the defence of the English borders should not leave the situation appointed them; that the absentee lords and all tenants should make a provision for the public defence, according to their means; that the colonists should assist each other in repelling the attacks of the Irish; that the number of idle retainers attending the barons should be lessened, and their exactions restrained; that, as the Irish insidiously made a truce with one district, to have more leisure to attack others, no truce but a general one should be made with them, and that those fairly made should be honourably observed, the neglect of which often produced bloody reprisals as well on the innocent as the guilty; that, on an insurrection of the Irish, should it be inconvenient for the chief governor to lend immediate aid, the English should instantly take up arms themselves, and maintain the war at their own

C H A P. charge, and that each lord should have the bridges and roads
III. repaired through his district, to afford means of pursuing the
 insurgents into their retreats; that the colonists, in order to
 get free from the restraints of the English laws, should not
 disguise themselves under the Irish garb, and form of the
 hair, which would expose them to be killed with impunity,
 as the Irish are, who have not those laws to protect them;
 and, lastly, that two lords in each district where the Irish
 reside, should be appointed to treat with them, in order to
 preserve the peace of the district.

These ordinances served indeed for a while to check a
 spirit of disorder; and, during the temporary tranquillity,
 the king repeated his application to the clergy for a subsidy,
 with what success it is not now known. On both clergy and
 laity he was very urgent in his demands to support his diffe-
 rent expeditions. The tenths formerly granted for the ser-
 vice of the holy land, which had been collected by the pope,
 he seized himself to supply his exigencies; yet the pope,
 who was sensible of his firmness and spirit, seemed to bear
 it with a good grace. In reality, when the king turned his at-
 tention towards Ireland, it was principally in expectation
 of raising money from it, to be applied to other purposes
 than securing the peace of the country, which was very soon
 interrupted; for, after a short season of quiet, fresh feuds and
 insurrections burst out in different parts. Of these the
 blame is to be imputed to the king himself, who called over
 two powerful barons, Fitzjohn, head of the Geraldines,
 and De Burgo, earl of Ulster, to assist him in his war
 against Scotland. Encouraged by their absence, the in-
 surgents committed many acts of violence, and destroyed
 some of the most valuable of the English settlements. With
 difficulty could the chief governor and the loyal barons de-
 fend the province of Leinster from their attacks.

Piers Ga-
 vaston.
 1208.

Though the attachment of that weak prince, Edward II,
 to favourites proved ultimately the cause of his ruin, yet
 Piers Gavaston, one of these, whom he appointed to the
 office of chief governor, a station of honourable exile, exert-
 ed himself with spirit and activity to suppress the public dis-
 orders. Possessed of courage and military skill, he marched
 out against the barbarous septs, drove them from their re-

treats, pursued them with slaughter, broke and dispersed them, and then reduced the country to quiet. He then proceeded to repair the havoc made by former insurrections, to repair castles, and open communications through the English territory. In his deportment, however, he assumed a degree of parade and dignity that offended the pride of the great barons, who also considered their consequence diminished by the authority attached to government, which formerly was subject to their controul. Richard De Burgo, earl of Ulster, the most powerful of these, seemed particularly displeased at the superiority he assumed; and in order to equal or exceed him, affected the state of an independent prince. He held a court in the town of Trim, where he was attended by numerous followers; and conferred the honour of knighthood on the persons of the family of De Lacey. Thus their jealousy was daily encreasing, but before it produced any violent effects, the favourite was recalled, and the kingdom was exposed to its usual disorders.

Sir John Wogan, who was re-appointed to the government, endeavoured, by calling parliaments and passing laws, to preserve the public peace, but without effect. The great barons, in contempt of his acts and his authority, continued by their broils to agitate the nation. De Burgo led the troops into Thomond in support of some claims, but was resisted by the Geraldines, under the command of Richard De Clare, who defeated him in a decisive engagement, and took him prisoner. He was then obliged to submit to such terms as the conquerors thought fit to impose. Their disputes were, however, settled by his two daughters being married to two heads of the Geraldines, Maurice and Thomas Fitzjohn. By the union of these two noble families it was expected the country would enjoy a lasting tranquillity, but, alas! it was on the point of being assailed by new enemies, and afflicted by new disorders, that reduced it to such distress as it never experienced before.

Edward I, having gained the dominion over Scotland by the sword, made a very harsh use of the ascendancy he had acquired. Provoked at his severity, and his ignominious execution of the hero Wallace, that brave nation was impatient to shake off the yoke, and selected Robert Bruce for their leader, son of that Robert who had been a competitor

Edward II
defeated in
Scotland.

CHAP. III. for the crown. Strenuously did this champion exert himself in their service, but his ardour received a check by a signal defeat from one of the generals of Edward, who was hastening forward himself with a great army to complete his ruin, when he died suddenly at Carlisle, in 1307. His weak son, and successor, Edward II, lost all the advantage gained by his father in the unfortunate battle of Bannockburn.

Edward
Bruce
lands in
Ireland.

Confirmed by this victory in the sovereignty of Scotland, Robert Bruce received from the Irish chieftains, particularly those of Ulster, who were most convenient to him, an offer of the kingdom of Ireland, if he came over with an army, and assisted them to recover their liberty, by expelling their severe oppressors, the English. In this enterprize he prevailed on his brother Edward to engage, in hopes of finding an object for the ambition of that aspiring young man, who had demanded, as a reward for the aid he had afforded him, an equal participation of his authority, and with difficulty was content for the present with being declared his successor. At first, this young prince, without sufficient preparation, made an unsuccessful attempt, but afterwards embarked six thousand Scots in three hundred small vessels, and landed with his troops on the north-eastern coast of Ireland. These forces, in conjunction with those of the Irish chieftains, proceeded to the horrid work of bloodshed and devastation; they butchered without mercy all the English settlers they could find, levelled their castles, and burned their towns. Dundalk, Atherdee, and other places of less note, they ravaged with great fury.

May 25,
1315.

Opposed by
De Burgo.

In the mean while Richard De Burgo, earl of Ulster, with his own troops, and those of Fedlim O'Connor, prince of Connaught, marched through Meath to oppose them, desolating the country in his way to supply his soldiers with food. Butler, the lord-deputy, also joined him with a large reinforcement, but he refused their aid, desiring him to return and defend Leinster, as his own troops were sufficient to repel the Scots, and punish their adherents. The enemy, as he proceeded northward, retreated before him for want of provisions; but at length,

after some inconsiderable actions, they had a general engagement at Colerain, where, it is said, he was defeated. Yet Bruce found it necessary to tamper with Fedlim, prince of Connaught, whom he engaged by specious promises to join him as soon as opportunity offered. At that time, indeed, he was rather in some difficulty, as his principality in Connaught was seized in his absence by Roderic his kinsman, who had also entered into an alliance with Bruce, but would not take the advice of that leader, to suspend his dispute with his opponent till the common enemy was subdued.

C H A P.
III.

With the consent of De Burgo, Fedlim now set out for Connaught, but his army was severely harassed in his march by the Ulster Irish, who thought him a friend to the English, and were not acquainted with his secret engagements. On his arrival he found his opponent so strong, that he was obliged to dismiss his shattered forces, and retire for a while to a place of safety. De Burgo soon followed him to Connaught, with his broken army, being unable to oppose Bruce and his adherents, who, notwithstanding, on account of a scarcity, were unable to pursue their advantage. The presence of De Burgo encouraged Fedlim and his adherents to take to arms; and an undecisive but destructive warfare was carried on for some time against Roderic, until the arrival of a reinforcement, commanded by Sir John Bermingham, an accomplished leader, put an end to the contest. Roderic in a fierce engagement was slain, and left Fedlim undisputed master of his principality, who immediately avowed his treaty with Bruce, and turned his arms against the English, his deliverers. He made furious inroads into their settlements, and surprised and slew many valiant knights. His defection caused many Irish chiefs of the south and of Meath, particularly the O'Briens of Thomond, to follow his example. However, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treachery. —An army was raised against him, under the command of William De Burgo, brother to the earl of Ulster, and Richard De Bermingham, who brought him to a general battle, the most bloody one that took place since the arrival

Treachery
and death
of Fedlim.

CHAP. of the English in Ireland, in which he lost his life, at the
 III. age of twenty two, with some thousands of his followers.

Progress of During the course of these events, Edward Bruce con-
 Bruce. tinued to extend his progress. After he had repelled his
 opponents from Ulster, he assumed the parade of royalty,
 and was even crowned with due solemnity at Dundalk. In
 order to enable him to support his dignity, his brother Ro-
 bert landed with a powerful army, but, on account of a ge-
 neral dearth, and the severity of the season, he was obliged
 to leave the country, without any signal service. However,
 the army that he left behind proved a considerable rein-
 forcement, and was joined by crowds of the discontented
 Irish, and even by many degenerate English, among whom
 were the Lacies and and their numerous followers. The
 town of Carrickfergus, which had hitherto sustained the at-
 tacks and assaults of the enemy, and patiently bore the dis-
 tress of famine, now surrendered to Bruce, who marched
 with his ravenous troops to the southward, ready to commit
 the most savage acts of hostility, to satisfy their hunger and
 their malice. When they got to Dublin, the citizens set
 fire to their suburbs, but with so little caution as nearly to
 consume their cathedral. They then retired within their
 walls, and made such preparations for a vigorous defence,
 that the Scottish prince very prudently declined the attack,
 and directing his course toward the county of Kilkenny, des-
 troyed the country as he passed along.

His retreat. The defection of the Lacies, and other degenerate Eng-
 lish had caused such distrust, that the chief magistrate of
 Dublin put the earl of Ulster in confinement, whose sister
 was married to the king of Scotland. Hence several of the
 English barons exerted themselves to display their loyalty,
 and entered into associations to support king Edward with
 their lives and fortunes, delivering hostages to John De Ho-
 tham, a clergyman, who was commissioned by his majesty
 to hold a conference with the great lords on the state of
 the kingdom. Those who had eminently distinguished
 themselves, received signal marks of the royal favour, and
 on that occasion, John Fitzthomas, baron of Offally, was
 created earl of Kildare, and lord Edmond Butler earl of
 Carrick. By the exertions of the friends of government,

particularly the Geraldines of Desmond and Kildare, an army, it is said, of thirty thousand, was assembled at Kilkenny, including a great number of irregular troops ill provided for service. While they were preparing to march against the ravagers, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, who was appointed chief governor, landed at Youghall, with a train of forty knights and their attendants. This reinforcement deterred Bruce from risking an engagement, who retreated by forced marches to Meath, and thence to his late quarters in Ulster, where he experienced the sad effects of his former devastation, many of his soldiers dying of hunger, and the rest being obliged to derive a horrible subsistence from the carcases of their countrymen.

Mortimer, unable to pursue the enemy through a desolated country, having dismissed his soldiers, returned to Dublin, and obtained the release of the earl of Ulster. He then marched into Meath, and summoned the Lacies to answer for their conduct, who killed his messenger in defiance, and took refuge in Connaught. He used, indeed, every endeavour both to redress grievances, and to restore the English power in Leinster, and was seconded by the supreme pontiff, who issued out his excommunications against the Bruces, their adherents, and the Irish clergy of every rank, who had zealously exerted themselves from the pulpit in favour of insurrection. An additional aid was also afforded the English by a plentiful harvest in some districts that had escaped devastation, which enabled them again to take the field. At first they met with a severe defeat in Thomond, but succeeded in repairing it by vigorous measures. About this time Mortimer returned to England, and the archbishop of Dublin, having obtained the administration, appointed Sir John Bermingham to the command of the forces destined for the north, who marched into Ulster with fifteen hundred chosen troops, and several distinguished officers in his train.

The army of Bruce, after all his losses, was more than double in number, but had hardly recovered from the effects of hunger; and he was so confident of success himself, that having heard his brother was coming to his aid, he hastened to attack the enemy, lest he should arrive, and

Defeat and
death.

CHAP. participate in the honour of the victory: The two armies
 III. met near Dundalk, and just before the engagement the
 archbishop of Armagh, who was attached to the English,
 went through the ranks exhorting them to contend with valour against the furious ravagers of their property, dealing around his benedictions, and pronouncing absolution on all who should fall in so good a cause. The conflict was tedious and desperate, but at length decided against the Scots, who were discomfited with terrible carnage. Edward Bruce fell himself in the battle by the arms of an English knight, named Maupus, who rushed through the ranks to attack him, and whose body, pierced with many wounds, was found stretched on that of his antagonist. His brother Robert arrived with his forces just in time to hear of his defeat, and instantly retired. Bermingham, proceeding northward, expelled O'Nial from the territory of Tirowen, and returning with his victorious troops, received, as a reward for his eminent services, the earldom of Louth, and manor of Athenree.

Durable effect of the invasion.

Such was the event of this invasion, an enterprise rashly undertaken by an aspiring young prince, under pretence of redressing the grievances of the country, but in reality to gratify his own ambition, contributing, with the confusion it occasioned, to reduce the English colony to a state of decline from which it did not recover for nearly two centuries. Above two years was this unfortunate island afflicted both by his ravaging bands, and the licentious troops of the king, who were allowed, on account of the deficiency of revenue, to take their subsistence from the people, by living at free quarters, which was termed *coyne and livery*, and were guilty of the most abominable excesses. Hence famine and its attendant, pestilence, were added to the unavoidable calamities of war.

Degenerate English.

Distressed by the intolerable rapacity of the royal soldiers the freeholders deserted their lands, and either fled over to England, or joined the septs of the Irish, adopting their manners, and engaging in their insurrections. Exactions of a similar kind were also exercised by some of the great lords, particularly by Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, who by his oppressive severity banished the English settlers

from the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork, and Waterford. Of these the best parts were taken for his own demesnes, and the rest were seized by his followers, a mixed rabble mostly of the Irish race. In order to avoid the claims of the proprietors, he himself renounced all connexion with the English laws, and assumed the barbarous state of an Irish chieftain. His example was followed by several other lords, who envied him the power and influence he had thus obtained, and seizing the lands of the inhabitants of every description, drove them into exile, which produced endless insurrection and disturbance. Many other English settlers of inferior note coalesced with the natives in their language, garb, and manners, as they thus got rid of the restraints of the English laws, of which they were very desirous, from the irregular habits they had acquired, by the long continuance of tumult and disorder in the country. So great, indeed, was the general corruption, that even among those who still called themselves English, justice was often administered in the Irish mode, the judges assuming authority to compound for the crimes of even robbery and murder. This evil was so sensibly felt during the Scottish war, that a petition was presented to the king from the Irish council, requesting that no redemption should be granted for the robbery or murder of an English subject, except in full parliament, which should be held regularly once a year for that very purpose. An ordinance was in consequence passed to this effect, but it did not avail, as there was not authority sufficient to put it in force.

While some degenerate English were desirous to get rid of the restraints of their native laws, the original Irish of Leinster, who felt the loss of these, petitioned to obtain the benefit which they afforded. By an exclusion from this benefit they were in reality deprived of very essential privileges. Robbery or murder committed on an Englishman was punishable by death, but on an Irishman by only a fine. Hence the Irish, who wished to get such an odious distinction removed, applied to the throne by petition, which was referred to the chief governor, and by him handed over to parliament, where it was either openly rejected, or by private collusion thrown aside.

C H A P.
III.

Unhappy
end of the
king.

1327.

Prosecu-
tions for
witchcraft,
&c.

The king was at this time, it appears, but little capable of paying attention to the grievances of Ireland. Assailed by his rebellious barons, he endeavoured to escape into this country from their violence, but being driven back by contrary winds, was delivered into their hands, and hence met with that horrible death, which so strongly delineates the barbarous manners of the age.

The ignorance and barbarism which then spread over Europe, was particularly prevalent in Ireland. Of this, a notorious evidence is afforded by a prosecution for witchcraft, which took place about this time. For this supposed crime, a lady, named Alice Kettler, with her son and some dependents, was prosecuted in the spiritual court of Richard Ledrid, bishop of Ossory. She was acquitted; but one of her dependents was condemned and executed, and her son confined in prison. However, she was afterwards found guilty on a charge of heresy, and committed to the flames. Arnold De la Pier, a magistrate of Kilkenny, on account of his endeavouring to protect these unhappy persons, was charged himself with heresy, by the indignant prelate, as was also the chief-justice, the prior of Kilmainham, who interposed in his favour. He was therefore obliged to abandon that worthy man, who expired in prison. Adam Duff, a respectable Irishman of Leinster, was burned on the same charge, which was at length extended to Ledrid himself, who was formally accused of it by his metropolitan, and obliged to leave the country in haste, in hopes of escaping by an appeal to the pope.

Inatten-
tion of Ed-
ward III.

The reign of Edward III, which was so brilliant in the annals of England, exhibited a continuation of the same weakness in the government of Ireland. The subjugation of France afforded a more tempting object to the ambition of that great monarch, than the trivial interests, as he thought, of this unhappy country. It was of course distracted, not only by the insurrections of the Irish, but by the feuds of the barons among themselves. In such fiery tempers, the smallest provocation was sufficient to excite disturbance. John De la Pier had ventured to insult Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, by calling him *the rhymer*, and this afforded pretence for a bloody war between these

two barons and their adherents. After several severe conflicts, De la Pier was driven from the country. At length a reconciliation was effected between the two contending parties, by the influence of Roger Outlow, prior of Kilmainham, the chief governor.

During this season of tranquillity, the Irish of Leinster applied for the protection of the English laws ; but by means of the usual chicanery, were deprived of the benefit they claimed. Enraged at the disappointment, they rose up in arms, having chosen O'Brien of Thomond their leader, and extended the war over Leinster, Meath, and Munster, where the fairest English settlements were exposed to their ravages. Their success excited those barbarians to commit horrid acts of cruelty, among which the following is particularly related. Having surrounded about fourscore persons of English race at their devotions, those wretched people, hopeless of escaping themselves, asked only for the life of the priest ; but, instead of complying with their reasonable request, the savages made him the first object of their fury. The host, which he held forth as his protector, they tore out of his hands, and trampled under their feet, then plunged their weapons into his body, and destroyed the church and congregation by fire.

Their barbarous fury caused the rest of the English to make a desperate defence. The citizens of Waterford repelled them with great slaughter ; and James Butler, lately created earl of Ormond, defended his territory from their attacks. However, Darcey, now chief governor, was obliged to apply for aid to Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, with whom he treated as an independent prince. Yet his irregular troops, by living at free quarters on the English, were more injurious than beneficial to their interests.

At this time it was thought requisite to sooth still more this powerful baron, who was created earl of Desmond in 1329, and had his royal liberties confirmed to him in Kerry, as had also the earl of Ormond in Tipperary. The demesnes of each were, of course, converted to palatinates of which the number were now nine : for instance, the palatinates of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny Kildare, and Leix, which were the portions of the five co-heiresses of the family

C H A P.
III.Cruel attack of the
Irish.Repulsed
in some
places,Some barons sooth-
ed.

CHAP. of earl Marshall; the palatinates of Meath and Ulster, and
III. of the earls of Desmond and Ormond. In these the king's writs had no authority, except in the lands included in them, called the *cross*, belonging to the church, where the king could make a sheriff. In all other parts of these privileged counties the lords of each were petty monarchs, who assumed the power of creating knights and barons, of administering justice in every point, of creating courts in the same form as those of the king, and of appointing their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and escheaters. Hence two-thirds of the English settlements were exempt from the royal jurisdiction, and the influence of the barons dangerously augmented.

Punished. However, the honours and privileges they had obtained did not render them more zealous in promoting the interests of their royal master, or in repelling the attacks of the Irish insurgents. From the 'increasing success and insolence of these, it was suspected by Sir Anthony Lucy, now made chief governor, that they were secretly favoured by some of the great lords. Accordingly, in order to discover their schemes, he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin, at which but few of them attended; and afterwards another to meet at Kilkenny, which was attended by still fewer. The decrease of number, added to the suspicions he had entertained, which were at length confirmed by undoubted evidence, resolved him to apply the most effectual remedy to the disorder. He seized Maurice Fitzthomas, earl of Desmond, Mandeville, Walter De Burgo, and his brother, and William and Walter Bermingham; Walliam Bermingham, being found guilty, was executed, and Desmond was long confined.

Inglorious treaties. The submission now paid to the authority of the chief governor was owing to the expectation of Edward himself coming to Ireland, for which, as he professed, he was making preparations for some time; but these were only a scheme to get supplies from the parliament, and were really intended against Scotland, where the English honour was regained by him at the battle of Hallidown. Hence it was found expedient to patch up inglorious and uncertain treaties, with the Irish chiefs, for which the prior of Kilmainham had a commission.

These concessions to the turbulent and disaffected showed the weakness of the English government, which was still more visibly displayed by the consequence of an unfortunate incident which took place at this time. William De Burgo, earl of Ulster, being murdered by his own attendants, at Carrickfergus, in 1333, his wife fled into England, accompanied by his infant daughter, the heiress of his great estates. These large possessions should have been taken by the king into his own hands, as heir in such cases; but the sept of O'Nial rising suddenly in arms, and passing over the Bann, assailed the English settlers established by De Burgo. Of these the greater part were extirpated, after an obstinate resistance, or confined within narrow limits; and their extensive properties being divided among the conquerors, were styled upper and lower Clan-Hugh-boy, from their leader Hugh-boy O'Nial. While such acts were committed in Ulster, the large demesnes of De Burgo in Connaught were seized by the younger branches of his family, who renounced the English laws, which would oppose their usurpations, and assumed the name, manners, language, and apparel of the Irish. The murderers of De Burgo were, it is true, punished by the chief governor, but he was unable to prevent the acts of violence and cruelty already committed, or to restore the just owners to their possessions.

By means of such anarchy the revenues proved very deficient, which was peculiarly inconvenient to Edward, now meditating his vast designs against France. Enraged at this deficiency, he had recourse to measures equally violent and unjust, which tended to augment the general dissatisfaction. He issued ordinances for resuming all grants of estates and jurisdictions made by himself and his father, and for disqualifying all except Englishmen, possessed of property in England, to hold offices in Ireland. Such was the return experienced by the descendants of those original adventurers, by whose valour the monarch had obtained his possessions in this country, and hence the origin of the invidious distinctions between *English by birth and English by blood*. A violent ferment was excited by these ordinances, and a numerous convention held at Kilkenny by the earl of Desmond, by whom a remonstrance was prepared

Severe or-
dinance.

C H A P. for the consideration of his majesty. A petition framed,
III. either by this or a similar convention, bearing the date of 1343, is still extant, stating a variety of grievances caused by vicious administration, particularly such as had been already mentioned, to which a gracious answer was returned by the king, but it is unknown how far the grievances were redressed.

Exertions
of Ufford.

However just or reasonable these complaints might be, the great barons were still desirous of some excuse for discontent. Their turbulence, indeed, was somewhat restrained by the vigorous administration of Sir Ralph Ufford, who was appointed chief governor in 1344. He obliged the marchers to repair to their stations in order to repel the incursions of the Irish, and chastened both the earl of Desmond and Kildare for their disobedience. Some of the dependents of the former he had executed for their exactions, and terrified himself so much that he made his escape before he came to trial, leaving his sureties to suffer; the latter he reduced by force of arms, and put in confinement. By his death, and the king's eagerness to obtain assistance in his wars against France, they were restored to favour, and attended the monarch with some forces on his foreign expedition. The earl of Kildare distinguished himself by his valour at the siege of Calais.

Impotence
of adminis-
tration.

Though the spirited exertions of a particular governor might afford peculiar weight to his authority, yet, at this time, weakness seems to have been the general characteristic of the Irish administration. Of this, the following notable instance is mentioned. In order to relieve the subject from the exactions of coyne and livery, in a parliament held at Kilkenny by Sir Walter Bermingham, the chief governor, it was enacted, that two shillings for every eighth part of a townland, and two shillings in the pound from every individual whose personal property amounted to six pounds, should be granted for the support of the Irish war. This subsidy was opposed with great violence by Ralph Kelly, an Irishman, archbishop of Cashel, who issued an ordinance, with the concurrence of his suffragans, by which all beneficed clergymen who paid the tax should be deprived of their preferments, and disqualified to hold any living in

1348.

the province ; and all laymen in church lands guilty of the same crime should be excommunicated, and their offspring rendered incapable to hold any ecclesiastical benefice even to the third generation. Accordingly, he excommunicated, with great solemnity, all persons concerned in collecting it from church lands, and particularly William Epworth, the king's commissioner in Tipperary, for receiving it from subordinate collectors. Being found guilty on an information, Kelly and his suffragans refused to appear on arrest of judgment, and yet got leave to escape their due punishment.

Though for some time after the reception of the earls of Desmond and Kildare into favour, there were no wars of consequence in the English settlements, yet there were different insurrections of the Irish, for the suppression of which the earl of Desmond was appointed to the government. Having died soon after, in 1355, Sir Thomas Rokeby was restored to that high office, which he had possessed before, and in which he had conducted himself with singular integrity. ‘ Let my dishes be wood,’ he used to say, ‘ rather than my creditors unpaid.’ His intentions certainly were honest, but his influence was not great, and the chief benefit he effected for the country was by regulating the Irish parliament, and reducing it nearer to the English model. By his means appeals from the erroneous proceedings of the courts were consigned to the decision of that parliament, and no longer carried over to England.

The disagreement which continued between those born in the country and those originally derived from it, caused a royal mandate to be issued, prohibiting any mere Irishman from being admitted into any office or place of trust in any city, borough, or castle, or into any ecclesiastical benefice, or religious house, under his majesty's dominion. Those Irish, however, who had obtained charters of denization, on perceiving themselves affected by this prohibition, applied to parliament, and had the law explained in their favour.

The king, who had been accustomed to brilliant successes in his foreign wars, being irritated at the insurrections and dissensions continually increasing, at length adopted a plan, which, he thought, would have a salutary

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III.

Regulations of
Rokeby.

Vain attempt of
Lionel.

C H A P. effect in removing the disorder. His son, Lionel, who was
 III. afterwards created duke of Clarence, being married to the

1361. daughter of the earl of Ulster who had been murdered, obtained, by right of his wife, very ample possessions in Ireland. In order to recover these, and reform the state of the country, he was sent over with an army of fifteen hundred men, among whom were several knights of distinction. But being totally ignorant of Irish affairs, and prejudiced by the faction of English birth against those of English race, he forbade them, as well as the native Irish, from approaching his camp. Deprived thus of effectual aid, on an expedition into Thomond, he was surprised and nearly defeated. Convinced of his error, he invited the colonists to his standard, and hence obtained considerable advantages over the O'Briens. Yet he could not recover his estates. He was recalled, and sent afterwards twice back, without being able to effect the conquest of the Irish. He therefore found it sufficient to attempt regulating and reforming the English colony, which had degenerated into the barbarity of Irish manners. With this intent, he summoned a parliament, which was numerously attended, composed of both estates in one house, by which was enacted a celebrated ordinance, distinguished by the name of the

1367. *Statute of Kilkenny.*

Statute of
Kilkenny.

This statute interdicted, under penalty of high treason, marriage, fosterage, and other such connexions with the Irish; the use of the Brehon law among the English; waging war on the Irish without special licence from government; the presentation of Irishmen to ecclesiastical benefices, and reception of them into monasteries or religious houses; and the entertainment of Irish bards and newsmongers, the propagators of false reports. It also interdicted, under pain of felony, the quartering of soldiers on English subjects without their consent; and, under forfeiture of lands or imprisonment, until security be given for compliance, the adoption of an Irish name, and the use of the Irish language, garb, or customs. Sheriffs were empowered to enter all palatinates and privileged places, for the purpose of seizing criminals, who had before found sanctuary there; and, in order to prevent the partial

arrangement of the barons, four wardens of the peace were to be appointed in each county, to adjudge what men and armour each person should furnish for the public service in war. Beside the temporal motives for the observance of this statute, it was rendered more solemn by the sanction of the church, as the prelates who voted for it denounced excommunication against all those who should violate any of its rules.

It had not, however, the desired effect. It neither restrained the degeneracy of the English colonists, produced the internal peace of the colony, nor prevented its decline. The English interest, indeed, grew weaker every day; so much so, that, during the administration of Sir William Windsor, it was found expedient to confer pensions on the Irish chieftains to protect the colony, and should these not be paid, the payment was enforced by acts of hostility. Regularity in these instances could not be always effected, as the charges of government could not be supported without large remittances from England. Davies declares, that taking seven of the best years of the long reign of Edward III., the certain and casual revenues of Ireland did not, on an average, produce to the English government ten thousand pounds a-year. Even the office of chief governor was considered in England as a state of exile, and refused on that account by Sir Richard Pembridge, warden of the cinque-ports. Such was the effect of the king diverting his attention from the affairs of this country to foreign wars, which, however splendid or successful, were of far less consequence. Hence, even in the reign of this warlike monarch, the country was exposed to the attacks of enemies from abroad. The coasts were infested by the Scots, French, and Spaniards; but the fleet of the two latter was defeated by an English fleet in the harbour of Kinsale, with the assistance of the inhabitants, and deprived, beside the loss of many men, of several of their own, and of twenty of the English vessels of which they had made a prize.

Since the English colony continued to decline, during the reign of the illustrious monarch Edward III., it could not be expected that more beneficial effects would immediately

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III.

Pensions to
Irish chiefs.

Weakness
of Richard
II.

CHAP. ensue under his grandson Richard II, son of the heroic
III. Edward the Black Prince, who succeeded to the throne at

1377. eleven years of age. The same weak or corrupt mode of government was continued with the same success. One chief governor, Philip De Courtney, a cousin of the king, appointed in 1382, was arrested for his unjust administration, and his effects seized, in order to indemnify for their losses the persons who had suffered by his extortions. Different schemes were, indeed, formed for the conquest of the Irish and degenerate English, but they were always rendered abortive by the weakness of the king, who gave daily proofs of his incapacity. Influenced by a childish partiality, he conferred the government of Ireland, with very ample powers, on his great favourite Robert De Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he had created marquis of Dublin, and furnished with an army. The king accompanied him as far as Wales, but when they were on the point of parting, he could not overcome his ardent affection for him, and the marquis returned with him to London. The government was of course committed to deputies, one of whom, Sir John Stanley, was successful in compelling O'Nial of Tir-owen to make a feigned submission, and give hostages for his good conduct. The authority, however, of the marquis was of short duration. The princes of the blood and chief nobility having formed a combination against him, he was obliged, after being defeated, to make his escape to the Low Countries. Of his friends, some were put to death, and others banished to Ireland. The king himself was kept in thralldom by the faction of nobles.

The disordered state of Ireland, and the expense attending its irregular administration, having raised great clamour in England, Gloucester, the king's uncle, a prince of distinguished talents, active and enterprising, offered to repair to Ireland in person, and use every exertion to effect the peace of the country. The expectation of his arrival with a considerable force excited the apprehensions of the turbulent, and restored the dejected spirits of the loyal. But when he was on the point of embarking with all his train, he was countermanded by a message from his nephew, Richard, who, for a while, had regained his liberty,

informing him, that he was resolved to make an expedition C H A P.
III.
to that country himself. This resolution, it is said, was owing to the following cause:—As he had married a princess of Bohemia, he had the vanity to offer himself a candidate for the imperial crown of Germany, but he was refused by the electors, who told him candidly, that they would not confer that dignity on a prince, who could not recover the dominions gained by his progenitors in France, nor restrain the insolence of his English subjects, nor subdue the enemies of his authority in Ireland. He, therefore, resolved, in order to establish his character, to make Ireland the first scene of his military exploits, especially as the fairest prospect of success was there offered him.

Accordingly, he landed at Waterford with an army of un- 1394
usual magnitude, consisting of thirty-four thousand men, of His arrival
with a
great army
whom four thousand were men at arms, a force fully sufficient, if properly applied, to establish the general peace of the country. However, he made use of them, rather to make a vain parade of his dignity, than to subdue the disaffected, and deprive them of the means of raising insurrections for the future. After some slight skirmishes of a few septs in Leinster, the Irish chieftains, amounting to no less than seventy-five, who were lords, or petty monarchs, made their humble obedience to the king on bended knees, with heads uncovered, and such like external forms of profound submission. Those of Leinster, indeed, were so compliant as to engage to deliver up their lands and settlements to the crown, on the promise of being allowed to possess whatever lands they should conquer from the king's enemies in other provinces. Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, by special appointment, received their homage at Carlow, and the king himself, at Drogheda, received the homage of the northern chieftains. On the following four principal leaders, O'Nial, O'Connor, O'Brian, and M'Murchad, the honour of knighthood was conferred, which they received with some reluctance, as they had obtained in their earliest days a distinction, which they thought of a similar kind. The degenerate English, who had joined the Irish rebels, were allowed a truce of some months, as the king was assured that they were obliged to do so by the oppression of rulers, which frequently was the case. Highly flattered by the humble

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III.

submission that was paid him, he brought the Irish chieftains with him to Dublin, where he entertained them some time with great pomp, and after ten months' continuance of empty parade in Ireland, he returned to England to persecute the Lollards, to which he was urged by the presence of the archbishop of York and bishop of London, who had come over to him for that *pious* purpose.

Insurrec-
tions on his
departure.

After he was gone, and his army removed, application was made to the chieftains of Leinster to give up their settlements according to agreement. At first they made some pretences for delay, but when they were urged to compliance, they rose up in insurrection. Hence a fresh war burst forth of various success. A considerable victory was gained over them by two knights of the families of De Burgo and Bermingham; and Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, the lord-lieutenant, assisted by the earl of Ormond, drove the O'Byrnes from their lands in Wicklow. But the tide of success began now to turn the other way. A body of the king's forces were defeated with great slaughter by the sept of O'Toole; and the O'Byrnes, being pursued into Ossory, attacked their pursuers by surprise, and defeated them with the loss of many men, and among others of the lord-lieutenant himself, who was slain in the field of battle.

His second
expedition
to Ireland

Enraged at the audacity of the rebels, and the death of his cousin Mortimer, Richard assembled an army at Bristol, and sailed thence to Waterford, where he landed on the 13th of May of the following year. Instead of immediately proceeding against the insurgents, who were so much the object of his resentment, he spent six days at Waterford receiving congratulations, and fourteen at Kilkenny, waiting in vain for a reinforcement under the Duke of Aumerle. He then marched into Leinster, a country wasted by war, to attack Art Mac-Murchad, a politic active chieftain, who appeared at the head of three thousand well armed followers, and by his own expertness, the advantage of his woods and bogs, the agility of his troops, who were dexterous at desultory attacks, and assailed the English with loud howlings, was able to baffle the superior numbers and discipline of the royal army. This army,

consisting of thirty thousand men, was at length obliged to make an inglorious retreat, perpetually harassed by the missile weapons of the enemy, who avoided a regular combat, and so much oppressed with famine, against which the king had not prepared, that when some vessels sent from Dublin with provisions had come to anchor on the coast, the soldiers rushed into the water, and, in eagerness to get at the food, destroyed one another. MacMurchad took the advantage of the present success to endeavour to accomplish an advantageous treaty, and for that purpose had a conference with the duke of Gloucester, to which he is represented to have come mounted on a horse without a saddle, being of a tall stature, formed for agility and strength, and of a fierce aspect. The interview, however, terminated without any accommodation, and Richard proceeded to march to Dublin.

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After continuing six weeks in that city, without any account from England, he at last received very fatal intelligence. His exactions to prepare for his last expedition; his numerous extortions, though with the consent of parliament, his murder of his uncle the duke of Gloucester, who, however guilty, should have got a regular trial; the weakness and dissipation of his government, had alienated the affections of his subjects. Application was made by the disaffected in England to the duke of Hereford, whom he had capriciously banished from the realm, and then deprived of his inheritance on the death of his father, the duke of Lancaster. Stimulated by revenge and ambition, he landed in England with an inconsiderable troop, but numbers joined him daily, and Richard, on his arrival, found his cause desperate. He then resolved to return and take shelter in Ireland, but being betrayed by artifice into the hands of his rival, he was deposed with some solemnity, and soon after privately murdered.

His return
and cruel
death.

CHAPTER IV.

Avocations of Henry IV.—Of Henry V, and guardians of Henry VI.—Duke of York chief governor—His ambitious attempt—Defeat and death—Edward IV, his son—Execution of Ormond—Fall of Desmond—Further decline of English interest—Influence of Gerald, earl of Kildare—Continued lord-deputy by Henry VII.—Supports the imposture of Lambert Simnel—Battle of Stoke—Pardon of Irish barons—Scheme of Perkin Warbeck—Kildare removed—Desertion of Warbeck—Divisions of the barons—Poyning's administration—Acts of his parliament—Second attempt of Warbeck—Kildare confined—Restored to his former office—Attempts a conciliation with Ormond—Defeats Clanricard in a great battle—Revival of English interest—Decreased under Henry VIII.—Succession of young Kildare—Supplanted by the schemes of Ormond—Surry's administration—Weak government of Ormond—Kildare again appointed—Confined in England—Restored by intrigue—His vanity on his success—Rebellion of his son Lord Thomas—His exertions—Submission—Execution of him and his uncles—Escape of his brother Gerald.

C H A P. IV. **T**HE usurpation of Henry IV, which first gave rise to the bloody contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, caused Ireland to become still less the object of royal care. Having obtained the throne by intrigue and violence, it required every exertion of that able monarch to maintain his own situation, and secure the succession of his posterity. In the beginning of his reign he appointed, it is true, his second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, to the government, who gained some successes over the Irish, and also over the Scots, who had infested the settlements; but on a second visit he met with more strenuous opposition, and being defeated and wounded near the walls of Dublin by

some septs of Leinster, he retired to England without being able to reduce the insurgents.

The heroic and generous Henry V, being dazzled by the splendor of his brilliant victories on the continent, would hardly deign to cast a look on this unhappy country, and the very existence of the English settlements seems to have been owing to the tributes paid the Irish chieftains for their protection, which was termed *black rent*, and to the disputes of those chieftains among themselves. His death in the flower of his age, and the succession of his infant son Henry VI, produced at least no alteration for the better. The guardians of the young prince were too much engaged in their vain attempts to execute the late king's ideal schemes with respect to France, to pay a suitable attention to the affairs of Ireland. The lord-deputies, indeed, exerted themselves to restrain the Irish or degenerate English with various success. The earl of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, who was sufficiently active, found great difficulty in reducing the earl of Desmond to due subordination, who affected the state of an independent prince. Some hostilities, indeed, took place between them, but it was found expedient to suspend the contest by a truce for one year. Desmond, however, by intrigue, contrived to get this virtuous chief governor removed from his office; and John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, appointed in his place. Yet, though different crimes were maliciously laid to his charge before the king, both by Desmond and the present lord-lieutenant, his majesty could not be prevailed on to proceed to any farther measures against him. Hence it is supposed arose the lasting attachment of the family of Butler to the house of Lancaster.

While the royal sceptre was swayed by the two able monarchs, Henry IV, and Henry V, the princes of the house of York durst not urge their pretensions to the throne. But when it was entrusted to the feeble hands of Henry VI, they resolved to take advantage of the favourable opportunity that was offered. Their title to the throne they considered superior to that of the reigning monarch, as they derived it from the duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III, and he from the duke of Lancaster, third son

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1413
Henry. V,
and guar-
dians of
Henry VI.

1422.

1443.

1445.

Duke of
York chief
governor.

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of the same king. Early in the present reign it was deemed expedient to send Edmund, earl of Marche and Ulster, the head of that family, to the government of Ireland, in order to keep him removed from public view. By his death, which happened suddenly at the town of Trim, the rights of his family devolved on his brother Richard, the duke of York. This prince, by the marriage of the duke of Clarence, his ancestor, above-mentioned, with the heiress of Ulster, had very large estates in Ireland. He possessed the earldom of Ulster, with the lordships of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath. The lieutenancy of Ireland he consented to accept, but stipulated for very extensive privileges. He demanded, and was allowed, to hold his place for ten years; to receive the whole Irish revenue, without giving any account for it; to get a yearly pension from England of two thousand marks, with an immediate supply of a thousand more; to have authority to set the king's lands, dispose of all offices, levy such forces as he should think necessary, nominate his own deputy, and return to England at his pleasure. He entered on the government with great pomp, but performed no military exploit worth mentioning. He summoned parliaments, and passed several statutes, one in particular against *coshering*,* and such like species of exactions. His administration, however, though not remarkable for splendid actions, produced effects more suitable to his designs, as his mildness, condescension, and impartial distribution of justice, conciliated the affections of all parties. Soon he found an opportunity of trying the popular opinion in his favour, both in this country and in England.

His ambitious attempt

One John Cade, an Irishman, assuming the name of Mortimer, raised an insurrection in Kent, by which the affections of the people for the family of York, were very visibly displayed. The people, indeed, had conceived a just contempt for the present king, the slave of Margaret of Anjou, his ambitious wife, and of his wicked ministers, who had excited a general odium against them by their tyrannical conduct, and especially by the murder of the virtuous

* It signifies the maintenance demanded by a lord from his tenants, when he made his progress among them

duke of Gloucester. The insurrection of Cade, being imputed to the machinations of the duke of York, afforded him a pretext to go over to England, to justify his conduct. Hence he took occasion to declare among his friends his pretensions to the crown, which produced the sanguinary contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, so destructive to the ancient nobility of England. During his absence, Fitzeustace, the deputy, contended successfully with some clans of the Irish, and particularly with O'Nial of Ulster and his confederates, whom he completely defeated in a general engagement at Ardglass.

The struggles of the duke of York in support of his claims, were at first attended with success, but being afterwards discomfited at Blare-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, he was obliged to take shelter in Ireland. Here he met with a very cordial reception from the deputy, the earl of Kildare, and the Geraldines, the ruling party, who passed such acts of parliament for his safety, and that of his followers, as almost declared the colony independent of the English crown. The earl of Ormond, the zealous abettor of the king, opposed them in vain, and some of his agents, attempting an arrest on a royal warrant, were seized and executed as violaters of the acts above mentioned. The duke, however, did not continue long in this state of exile. On the success of his son Edward at Northampton, he returned to England, attended by vast numbers of the colonists, particularly from the county of Meath, who, notwithstanding, did not prove an effectual support to his cause. His army of five thousand being surrounded at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, by twenty thousand under queen Margaret, he was slain, with most of his followers. This unfortunate battle would have proved fatal to the English interest in Ireland, had not the pensions paid to the Irish chieftains for their peaceable demeanour and protection, kept them in due order.

The death of the duke, and defeat of his small army, did not discourage his son Edward from continuing the contest. Emboldened by some advantages gained over his opponents, notwithstanding some succeeding disasters, and by the popular opinion in his favour, he openly declared his pretensions to the crown. Having made a solemn appeal to the

C H A P.
IV.

Defeat and
death.
1459.

1460

Edward
IV, his
son.

CHAP. people for their choice, Henry VI was deposed, and he was
IV. proclaimed king in London, under the title of Edward IV.

March 29, The decisive battle of Tooton soon after confirmed him in
1461. his situation.

Execution The Geraldines, it appears, were very zealous for the
of Ormond. faction of York, and the Butlers for that of Lancaster.

Hence, on the complete success of the former, by the accession of Edward IV, the earl of Ormond was attainted and executed in England. The parliament of Ireland, in imitation of the example that was shewn them, passed a bill of attainder against some others of his family and adherents. Yet this severity did not prevent Sir John Butler, brother and heir of the deceased earl, to make an attempt against the prevailing party. Having fled into Munster, with a number of followers from England, he collected there his scattered adherents, in order to resist the deputy of the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant for life. In this rash attempt he was opposed by the young earl of Desmond with a large force, and after some temporary success sustained a signal defeat. The Butlers were then driven from Kilkenny and some other towns, and obliged to take shelter in remote castles.

1463. Desmond was now for his services appointed lord-deputy; but being young and inexperienced, grew giddy with authority, while the enemies of his house were provoked at the success of his arms, and mortified at the dignity he had attained. They were, however, soon gratified by a sad reverse of fortune that befel him. The sept of Melaghlin, in Meath, having been for some time in a state of insurrection, continued to extend their incursions and ravages, until at last they excited the attention of the lord-deputy. Collecting some forces, he marched against the plunderers, entertaining a contempt for their power; but being joined by the neighbouring clans, who flew to their assistance with speed, instead of dispersing, they gave Desmond battle, and with such success, that his troops were routed, and himself, with some of his principal followers, made prisoners.

Among the insurgents was young O'Connor of Offally, whose father, when taken prisoner, had been released by Desmond, and, in order to repay the favour, he conveyed

that nobleman to a place of security, and dismissed him with several of his followers. But though the deputy was enabled by this indulgence to regain the state of government, yet such was his weakness and consternation, and such the confidence of the enemy, that they collected from all quarters, and attacked the helpless settlers in different parts. It was therefore found requisite to soothe them by new concessions and tributes. On O'Brien of Thomond, in particular, was conferred, beside a part of his conquests, an annual tribute of sixty marks by the citizens of Limerick.

Diminished in importance by the disasters he met with, Desmond was assailed by the representations of his enemies at the English court, but continued to hold his place in their defiance, till after the King's marriage with Elizabeth Grey, when the tide of court favour unhappily turned against him. It is said he gave offence to the new queen, who had great influence over her husband, by disrespectful observations on her family. However, for some reason or other, he was suspended in 1467, by the appointment of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, to the government, who seemed highly prejudiced against him. In a parliament held at Drogheda, an act of attainder was passed against him and the earl of Kildare, for holding, contrary to express statutes, improper connexions with the Irish. The statutes, however, had been either suffered to lie dormant, or at least were very little observed. On this accusation Kildare was taken prisoner, but afterwards made his escape. Poor Desmond was not so fortunate. Relying on his power or his innocence, he repaired to the chief governor to justify his conduct; but, to the utter confusion of his party, he was seized, brought to the scaffold, and beheaded. Kildare, after his escape, pleaded the services of himself and family with such power before the king, that he was not only pardoned, but restored to his estate and dignity. Soon after, to complete his triumph, he was appointed lord-deputy in the room of Tiptoft, who, being called over to England, suffered there, during the temporary success of the Lancastrian party, the same sentence which he had executed on the earl of Desmond.

CHAP.
IV.

Fall of Des-
mond.

1468.

CHAP.
IV.

Further de-
cline of
English in-
terest.

The disorders in England tended to render the condition of the colonists here still weaker, if possible. The English subjects chiefly resided in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Argial or Louth; which were considered as the pale. Thirteen of the principal gentlemen in these counties were appointed by an act of parliament, passed during the administration of Kildare, to command a body of two hundred men, mostly archers on horseback, who were paid by particular taxes. This was the whole regular force destined for their defence, which might be only sufficient to repel local incursions of small parties. But their principal security depended on the shameful tribute paid the Irish chieftains for their protection. It appeared, indeed, a few years after, that the resources of the government here could not afford the annual expense of five hundred pounds to support a small defensive establishment.

Kildare found the parliament sufficiently compliant, and for some time exercised his government without controul. At length, however, his authority was checked by the rival family of Butler, which, after being depressed since the beginning of this reign, began once more to regain its usual sway. John, the surviving head of that family, after his defeat, made his escape into England, and being a person of highly polished manners, by this means obtained peculiar influence over the king. So much so that he got Kildare removed from the government, and had Sherwood, bishop of Meath, an old enemy of his family, appointed in his room. During his administration the act of attainder passed against Ormond was repealed. Hence violent disorders were produced by the animosities of these two rival families, but they were at length suspended by the death of Kildare, and by Ormond, in a fit of devotion, making a pilgrimage to the holy land.

1475.

Influence of
Gerald earl
of Kildare.

The family of the former now gained the ascendancy, as Gerald, the young earl, was nominated deputy, but was allowed to retain his authority for a very short time, as the king soon after appointed Lord Grey to the government, and sent with him a company of archers, and three hundred men at arms. Kildare, however, rejected his commission, on account of its supposed informality, and held parliaments

in opposition to his. The settlements being thus in a state of confusion, Kildare, the bishop of Dublin, with some others, were summoned to attend the king in England. CHAP.
IV.
Kildare then, by his influence, or by offering sufficient reasons to justify his conduct, was appointed, on the resignation of Lord Grey, deputy to Richard, duke of York, who obtained the lieutenancy of Ireland, on the successive deaths of the unfortunate duke of Clarence and prince George, the king's son. This eminent office he continued to hold with advantage to the colony during the remaining years of the reign of Edward IV, and the short successive reigns of Edward V and Richard III. Not only among the colonists was his influence very considerable, but even among the Irish chieftains themselves, whose disputes he would frequently settle by his interference. This influence, however, among these chieftains, was very much augmented by his giving his sister in marriage to Con O'Nial, the son of the greatest of the Irish lords, who hence, by act of parliament, obtained all the rights of an English subject.

When Henry VII, having slain its unworthy possessor, ^{1485.} succeeded to the throne, it might be expected that he, a prince of the house of Lancaster, would have removed from power all the zealous adherents of the house of York. Yet, ^{Continued lord-deputy by Henry VII.} influenced by mistaken policy, he allowed Kildare to continue in the same office, when his uncle, Joseph Tudor, duke of Bedford, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Having entertained suspicions of his forming a plot against his government, he summoned him over to England, but Kildare eluded the mandate, by getting the lords spiritual and temporal of the pale, to send a petition to the king, representing great danger to the colony from the deputy's absence; until parliament should effect some useful regulations for the public safety. It soon appeared that the king had good reasons for his suspicions.

The partisans of the house of York in England, enraged at the oppressions they endured, made use of the following attempt to subvert the power of Henry. One Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, fixed on Lambert Simnel to execute his purpose, the son of a baker, a youth of fifteen, but of uncommon address and understanding for his years ^{Supports the imposture of Lambert Simnel.}

CHAP.
IV.

and opportunities. Him he instructed to personate the young earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, and nephew of Edward IV, declaring that he had escaped from the Tower, where he was confined by the present sovereign. Ireland was considered as the proper scene to play off the imposture, as it was far removed from scrutiny, and was much attached to the house of York, especially to the family of the duke of Clarence, who was born there. On his arrival in Dublin, the people declared in his favour; the lord-deputy and his council proclaimed him king, under the name of Edward VI, and afterwards had him solemnly crowned in Christ's church, with a diadem taken from an image of the blessed virgin. Hence he was carried in great pomp to the castle. Yet the deputy, with the rest of his adherents, forgot, in the fervour of their zeal, that others had a superior title even to the real Warwick. The citizens of Waterford, the family of Butler, the baron of Hoath, with four prelates, were the only persons not caught by the popular contagion.

The imposture was countenanced, not only by the enemies of Henry in England, but even by the duchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV, who sent into Ireland, for its support, a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swaart, an officer of distinguished valour and military experience. Along with these came over some of the English malcontents, particularly the lords Lincoln and Lovel. The scheme of the conspirators was, that Henry should be induced to go over to Ireland, in order to suppress the party there, and that his enemies in his absence might raise an insurrection in England. But the incapacity of the colony to support the present court and army, made it necessary for them to leave it without delay. Accordingly, they set out for England, in sanguine hopes of success, and landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire. This army was commanded by the earl of Lincoln, who was attended, among others, by lord Thomas and lord Maurice Fitzgerald, brothers of the lord-deputy.

**Battle of
Stoke.**

Henry, in the mean while, with his usual energy, made suitable preparations to resist the attempt. He exhibited the real Warwick to the people of England, which in that

country sufficiently exposed the imposture; and, on the first intelligence of the invasion, collected his forces, and marched at their head to Coventry. He thence proceeded to Nottinghamshire, where, at the village of Stoke, he met the invaders, who had been joined on their landing by Sir Thomas Broughton, and his troop, but were disappointed in raising an insurrection in their favour, especially in York, to which at first they had directed their course. The battle fought at the above-mentioned village was peculiarly bloody and obstinate; and notwithstanding the superiority of numbers on the side of Henry, might have had a different issue, if the English colonists, instead of the heavy armour and weapons of their ancestors, had not adopted those of the native Irish, which were only fit for light excursions, or desultory warfare. Supported, however, by the steadiness of the veteran Germans, and inspired with true courage, they made a furious onset; but being resisted by the superior weapons of their opponents, and disdaining to fly, they were cut down with immense slaughter, which so much disheartened their associates, shocked at the horrid spectacle, that they yielded the victory to the king. In this battle Lincoln, Lovel, the gallant Swaart, Broughton, the two Fitzgeralds, with four thousand of the invaders, were slain. Simnel and his tutor Simon the priest were taken prisoners. The latter was suffered to perish in confinement; the former was pardoned by the king, and appointed, in derision to his adherents, a scullion in the royal kitchen. Afterwards he was promoted in his household to the office of falconer.

The offending colonists were treated with great clemency by the king, which indeed was found necessary, as they had all offended except a very few already mentioned. To the citizens of Waterford he addressed letters of commendation for their extraordinary loyalty on that occasion. In order to receive new oaths of allegiance, and to confer forgiveness in form, Sir Richard Edgcombe was sent into Ireland with a train of five hundred soldiers. From the general pardon was justly excepted Keating, prior of Kilmainham, a turbulent ecclesiastic, who, beside the late offence, on a

CHAP. former occasion was guilty of a notorious transgression.*

IV.

He was obliged to leave the country, and died in exile and poverty. The pardon extended to those delinquents was also accompanied with an absolution from a sentence of excommunication that had been denounced against them. For receiving pardon, certain ceremonies were prescribed, to which Kildare refused to submit, and would accept it only on his own terms. Still he was continued in the office of lord-deputy.

His exertions and influence were extremely necessary for preserving the very existence of the English pale, which was weakened still more by the immense slaughter of its men at the battle of Stoke; nor could he have been able to effect it, had it not been for the hostilities of the Irish chieftains among themselves. The most violent of these took place in Ulster, between O'Nial, lord of Tir-owen, kinsman of the deputy, and O'Donnel, lord of Tirconnel, occasioned by the former demanding tribute of the latter. The contest was at length suspended by the murder of O'Nial, and the infirmity of his antagonist.

Scheme of
Perkin
Warbeck.

While the pale was preserved by such petty wars, its repose was in danger of being disturbed by a new claimant to the English throne. This was reported to be Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward IV, having escaped from the bloody hands of his uncle, Richard III, who had murdered his other brother. In history he is known by the name of Perkin Warbeck, the reputed son of a jew, and was a youth of polished manners and princely deportment.

Kildare removed.

It being resolved by his abettors that Ireland should also be the scene of his adventures, Henry, who was apprised of this, very prudently removed the Geraldines from all authority there, on account of their zealous attachment to the house of York. Kildare he removed from the office of

* Having alienated the revenues, and even sold the ornaments and relics of the religious house committed to his charge, he was deprived by the grand master of his order, but he refused to submit, and seizing his successor Lomly, an Englishman of some consequence, he forced from him the instruments of his election, and put him into prison, where he died. He then kept his place in defiance of the orders of the king, and the excommunication of the pope. In this act of disobedience he was supported by Kildare, of whom he was a strenuous adherent.

deputy, and baron Portlester from that of treasurer, which he had enjoyed for forty years. The place of the former was supplied by Walter, archbishop of Dublin, and of the latter by Sir James Ormond, natural son of the late earl of Ormond, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the holy land. The present earl was in very high favour with the king, being employed as ambassador to the court of France. On attaining such influence, the Butlers renewed their hostilities against their old enemies the Geraldines, and had several acts passed under the present deputy prejudicial to their interests.

In the mean while, Warbeck arrived at Cork, without retinue or troops, and was received by the chief magistrate with the honour due to a prince. He sent letters to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, entreating their assistance. The latter declared openly in his favour, but the former, being taught by experience, acted with more caution.—Warbeck, however, did not afford his adherents sufficient opportunity to shew their attachment, as he departed suddenly out of the country, being invited to the court of France.

His deserting them at the time was very favourable for the pale, as they were not then in a condition to support his claims, being afflicted, among other diseases, with a strange disorder called the sweating sickness, and also with famine. Yet such calamities did not prevent the mutual contentions of the barons. Each faction accused their opponents to the king, who was perplexed by contradictory stories, and therefore thought it necessary, in order to learn the real state of the country, to summon Walter, the deputy, before him, who was followed by Kildare, that he might justify his own conduct. Preston, lord Germans-town, an adherent of the Geraldines, being appointed deputy in his absence, held a parliament at Drogheda, which the Butlers declared was irregularly assembled, and refused to obey its statutes. The English pale, distracted by the divisions of the barons, was daily more curtailed; and, even within these narrow limits, the people had adopted the Irish habit and language. The rest of the country was

C H A P.
IV.

Desertion
of Warbeck.

Divisions of
the barons.

CHAP. possessed by the native Irish, and some degenerate Eng-
 IV. lish, who lived independent of the royal dominion.

1494. In hopes of reforming the present abuses, and amending
 Poynings' the wretched state of the colony, Sir Edward Poynings was
 administra- appointed lord-deputy, a native Englishman, unconnected
 tion. with the jarring factions of the pale. Along with him came
 over a band of a thousand soldiers, with several gentlemen,
 to fill the offices of lord-chancellor, lord-treasurer, and
 judges. His first act of any consequence was a military
 expedition to the north against a chieftain named O'Han-
 lon, from which he derived no renown; for the Irish at-
 tacking him by surprise, and retreating to their fastnesses,
 vexed him so much by their evasive mode of warfare, that
 he was very desirous of returning to the south, for which,
 happily, he had an excuse by lord James, brother of Kildare,
 seizing the castle of Carlow in defiance of the royal authority.
 This fortress he surrendered on terms to the deputy, who
 entertained suspicions against Kildare himself, though he
 had attended him in his march to the north; and hav-
 ing arrested him on a variety of charges, soon after sent
 him prisoner to England.

1495. It was not, however, the military, but legislative exer-
 Acts of par- tions of Poynings that rendered his administration so cele-
 tiament. brated in Irish history. In a parliament convened by him,
 several statutes of essential importance were passed, the
 purport of which may briefly be mentioned. They abolish-
 ed the exaction of *coyne and livery*, and substituted
 a temporary land-tax in its place; confirmed the statute
 of Kilkenny; vested in the lord-treasurer the nomina-
 tion of sheriffs, and such public officers; empowered
 him to act provisionally as governor on the sudden va-
 cancy of the office of deputy; enacted that places of
 public strength should be committed to the charge of
 men of English birth alone; and the priory of Kilmainham
 only held by a person of that description; extended to Ire-
 land the statutes lately enacted in England; and annulled
 several acts of preceding parliaments, particularly of that
 one which had been held by Simnel. The one termed em-
 phatically Poynings' law provided, that no parliament
 should thenceforth be held in Ireland, until the causes and

considerations on account of which it should be convened, and the laws which might be deemed proper to be enacted by it, should be previously certified by the king and his lieutenant and council, under the great seal of Ireland. This act was extremely necessary at the time, as governors used to assemble parliaments without advising the king, and pass oppressive acts to serve their mercenary purposes.

Poynings' military talents, from which he did not gain much repute before, had nearly been put to the trial again. Warbeck, being obliged to leave the court of France on its making peace with England, made another attempt on Ireland. Having landed in Munster, he was joined by Desmond with his forces, and, advancing to Waterford, summoned the city to surrender. But the citizens, reinforced by the Butlers, and other adherents of the house of Lancaster, repelled the attack, and, despairing of success in this country, he retired into Scotland. Poynings, elevated by this repulse, with which he had but little concern, returned in triumph to England, having crushed for the present the power of the Geraldines.

An act of attainder had been passed against Kildare, the head of that party, who, as already mentioned, was sent over prisoner to London, which proved fatal to his wife, as, during his tedious confinement, she died at home of anxiety. At last he was admitted to trial, and being desired by Henry to provide counsel for his defence, which he was afraid his cause would require, "Yea" he replied, "the ablest in the realm," seizing the king familiarly by the hand; "your highness I take for my counsel against these false knaves." Henry was pleased with this compliment paid to his integrity, and soon found, on trial, that the charges brought against him were mostly frivolous and malicious, and that those of treason were founded merely on suspicion. His enemies now were obliged to have recourse to the violences he had committed on themselves in their mutual contests. In particular, they accused him of burning the church of Cashel to the ground. "Spare your evidence," said Kildare, "I did set fire to the church, for I thought the bishop was in it." This odd sort of an excuse cast an air of ridicule on his persecutors, who concluded their charges with declaring:

C H A P.
IV.

Second at-
tempt of
Warbeck.

Kildare
confined.

CHAP "that all Ireland could not govern this earl."—"Well, then,"
IV. replied the king, "this earl shall govern all Ireland."

Restored to his estates and honours, Kildare, by his interest, got the earl of Desmond pardoned, who was a great offender, and all Ireland, who had favoured the cause of Warbeck, except Walter of Cork, who had been the earliest to pay court to him, and lord Barry of Kinsale, who had been particularly zealous in his service. The former, after long imprisonment, was hanged at Tyburn with the unfortunate adventurer he had espoused; the latter, in his retreat, was murdered by an unnatural brother.

Restored to
his former
office.

The king showed his discernment in appointing Kildare deputy to his son Henry, whom he had nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was, indeed, particularly qualified for that turbulent administration, and gratitude would urge him to a strenuous discharge of his duty. He pursued the Irish insurgents with implacable severity, and drove them from every fort they had seized. His exertions served not only to secure the pale, but to render at least the acknowledgment of the king's sovereignty more extensive.

1496.

Attempts
a concilia-
tion with
Ormond.

He even attempted to effect a conciliation with Sir James Ormond, the Irish leader of the Butlers. With this intent they had an interview in the cathedral of Dublin, but it was disturbed by a riot of citizens, who were offended at the knight having too many armed attendants, and made an attack on them. The tumult was soon composed by the interposition of the earl; and, after empty professions of friendship, the parties separated with the same animosity against each other. However, he formed a connexion with that family, by giving his sister in marriage to Piers Butler, who, in a struggle for wealth and power, a case not unusual in Ireland, killed Sir James Ormond, and obtained his possessions.

Defeats
Clanricard
in a great
battle.

By another matrimonial alliance, Kildare was involved in a dangerous contest. The lord of Clanricard, a leader of a sept of degenerate English in Connaught, being married to his daughter, by his disrespectful treatment of her, excited his resentment. From sharp altercations and mutual defiances, proceeding to open hostilities, they collected

their adherents. Clanricard had all the forces of Con-
 naught, with those of O'Brien of Thomond, and some other
 Irish chieftains of Munster. The deputy had the lords of
 the pale, the O'Nials, and some other leaders of the north.
 The two armies met at a place called Knocktow, a few miles
 from the city of Galway. On the side of Clanricard was
 a great superiority of numbers, which inclined the English
 barons to retreat, but that could not be attempted with
 safety. However, the superior arms and discipline of their
 men made amends for their deficiency of numbers. The
 archers of the pale repelled the tumultuous onset of their
 enemies with a shower of arrows that did great execution,
 and caused them instantly to fly. In this disorderly route,
 they were pursued with such slaughter, that two thousand
 of them were slain, with little or no loss on the side of the
 victors. Two sons of Clanricard, who were taken prisoners,
 were detained as hostages, and the septs of degenerate
 English of Munster and Connaught were subdued.

CHAP.
IV.

August 19,
1504.

This victory was of essential importance, and is an addi-
 tional proof of the discernment of the king in appointing
 Kildare to the office of deputy. The septs of degenerate
 English, who had coalesced with the original Irish, and
 adopted their barbarous manners, were even more violent
 enemies to government than they. Having less hopes of
 pardon for their public transgressions, they therefore became
 more desperate. The present monarch, it must be owned,
 though so much employed in quelling domestic insurrection,
 paid a very suitable attention to the interests of Ireland.
 The law of Poynings, to which he gave his sanction, produc-
 ed very beneficial effects. A deputy could not now summon
 a parliament when he pleased, to satisfy his own rapacious
 disposition. Few parliaments were, of course, called, and
 those for very essential purposes. From this reign, then,
 may be dated the revival of the English power in Ireland,
 which, from the Scottish invasion under Bruce, and during
 the civil wars of the roses, had declined for the continuance
 of a hundred and eighty years. Still, however, there was
 a necessity for paying tribute to the Irish chieftains for their
 protection.

Revival of
English in-
terest.

C H A P.
IV.

1509.
Decreased
under Hen-
ry VIII.

This favourable situation of affairs experienced a very sensible alteration for the worse, by the death of that prudent monarch, and the accession of his son Henry VIII, a prince young and giddy, eager for military glory, and a dupe to the continental potentates, who flattered his vanity. To such a sovereign Ireland afforded but a barren field for renown, and was therefore unworthy of his attention.

Succession
of young
Kildare.

The administration of affairs there was still entrusted to Kildare, who continually exerted himself in suppressing the insurrections of the septs of Irish and degenerate English. His death, therefore, which took place in 1513, produced very alarming apprehensions. The army suddenly dispersed, and the insurgents began their attacks. In this emergency the council nominated his son Gerald lord-deputy, and the nomination was confirmed by the king. Possessed of his father's spirit, and frequently distinguished in his wars, this lord, collecting his forces, marched out to the disturbed districts, and routed the insurgents. He now found leisure to convene a parliament, in which was renewed the law against absentees, applying two-thirds of their Irish revenues to the exigencies of the state. From the senate he was called to the field, to suppress an insurrection excited by a prophecy, which persuaded the superstitious Irish, that the time for their being restored to their ancient power and splendour was now arrived. The insurrection was suppressed, O'Tool, the leader of it, slain, his head cut off, and carried to Dublin.

Supplanted
by the
schemes of
Ormond.

After this success gained over the public enemy, Kildare was engaged in a species of private hostilities, for which his talents were less qualified, arising from the family feuds that unhappily prevailed among the great barons of the English colony. Between the Geraldines and Butlers in particular, as has been already shewn, a fierce enmity subsisted of long continuance. This was not in the least abated by the marriage of Piers Butler with one of the Geraldines. The lady indeed herself, piqued at her inferior consequence, urged her husband (who, by the death of earl Ormond, had now, as next heir, obtained the title and estates of that noble family) to attempt supplanting her relation Kildare, and thus to recover the former authority of the Butlers. Unable to effect

his purpose by open force, he had recourse to the arts of secret intrigue. Accordingly, he insinuated himself into the good graces of the king's high favourite, Wolsey, and accused his rival to him of gross corruption in his government, and a traitorous correspondence with the enemy; to which charges the cardinal afforded a very willing attention, as he was offended with Kildare for not paying him that humble submission, which that haughty prelate was accustomed to receive. Being summoned over to England to answer for his conduct, he was fully acquitted, but was superseded in his government by the nomination of Thomas Howard, earl of Surry, to the lord-lieutenancy, to which he was recommended by Wolsey, on account of the great benefit that would accrue by the appointment of a prudent Englishman to the Irish administration, unconnected with the jarring factions of the colony. This was a very plausible reason, but Wolsey, it was said, was influenced in his advice by selfish considerations. The new governor came attended by a thousand ordinary forces, and a personal guard of a hundred men.

The appointment of Surry, from whatever motives Surry's administration. occasioned, was certainly very beneficial to the colony. He exerted himself with singular activity in suppressing insurrection, and was almost constantly employed in military operations. In an expedition into Leix, the present Queen's county, against the turbulent sept of O'Moore, he was indeed exposed to imminent danger; but these disorderly forces could not make a durable resistance against a regular army, and were forced to escape to their fastnesses, where they frequently endured all the miseries of famine. Thus, by his vigour, did he oblige the turbulent septs to make submission, and by his justice, moderation, equity, and hospitality, did he conciliate all others of less violent spirits. Unhappily he did not stay sufficiently long to afford a durable effect to his measures. Disgusted at being so ill supplied from the English treasury, and required to command a useless expedition against France, he left the country at the end of two years.

Being prejudiced against Kildare by the unfavourable Weak government of Ormond. representation of his enemies, he had his rival earl Ormond

C H A P. appointed lord-deputy. This nobleman, however, had not
IV. equal influence with the other over the native Irish, nor
 1520. talents adapted for government, and, of course, became an
 object of their disregard and even contempt. Their pre-
 sumption was so much increased by the weakness of the
 deputy, that one of their chieftains, in the height of his
 vanity, had the assurance to send an ambassador to the
 king, threatening to make war against his majesty, unless
 he punished *Piers the red*, as he termed the deputy, who,
 it seems, had given him some slight offence.

Kildare a-
 gain ap-
 pointed.

While affairs were in this situation Kildare returned to
 Ireland. During his absence he had made a powerful con-
 nexion in England by his marriage with Elizabeth Grey,
 the daughter of the marquis of Dorset, and had proceeded
 with Henry in his splendid train to Calais, to hold his
 pompous interview with the king of France. On his return
 he at first affected to co-operate with the deputy in his en-
 deavours to suppress insurrection, but soon after raised an
 opposition to his government, and allowed his ancient animosity
 gradually to discover itself. In a petty fray between the
 parties, a favourite attendant of the earl of Ormond was
 killed. Hence mutual accusations were brought to the
 English court, and commissioners were sent to Ireland to
 try the matter of dispute, before whom Kildare, by means
 of his powerful connexions in England, gained the victory.
 To complete his triumph, he had Ormond dismissed, and
 himself substituted in his room. This eminent success was
 very agreeable to some of the Irish chieftains, particularly
 to Con O'Nial, who carried the sword of state before the
 new deputy, to show his *attachment* to the English govern-
 ment.

Confined in
 England.

Kildare did not long enjoy his high honour in security.
 Francis I, being engaged in a war with England, resolved
 to try to raise some commotions in Ireland. Accordingly,
 he tampered with the earl of Desmond, whom he
 treated as an independent prince, which so much flattered
 his vanity, that he entered into alliance with him, and pro-
 mised to effect his purpose. His designs being discovered,
 Kildare received orders to seize him. Apparently with
 this intent, he marched into Desmond in hostile array, but

turned suddenly about without executing his orders, and directed his course towards Ulster, to assist his kinsman, O'Nial, against some of the northern chieftains. Such conduct gave reason to suspect him of being engaged in treasonable correspondence with the earl. He was therefore summoned to England, and put into confinement, in which he continued a long time, and was released with great difficulty, after his English friends had given security for his future allegiance.

In the mean while, different deputies were appointed, who had not authority sufficient to preserve the pale from disturbance. Indeed, it grew daily weaker and more distracted, and afforded little or no concern to the king, whose attention was entirely directed to continental politics. The baron of Delvin, the deputy, was taken prisoner by O'Connor, a chieftain of Offally, and kept in confinement, in spite of the exertions of his successor, Piers Butler, now earl Ossory. His administration, indeed, was perplexed by the private intrigues of his old enemy, Kildare, who used the same expedient to embarrass his successor, Sir William Skeffington, with an intent to persuade the king that no one was so fit for the office as himself. In this he at last succeeded, and had himself restored with more authority than ever, as his enemy, Wolsey, was now in disgrace.

Restored
by in-
trigue.

Giddy with success he, abused his prosperity, and thus effected his ruin. He collected around him an armed rabble, mostly of the native Irish, whom he employed in acts of violence, and in executing his vengeance on those he disliked, rather than in preserving the peace of the colony. Justly alarmed at his irregularities, the impartial friends of the English government joined the Butlers and others of his enemies in transmitting a representation of his violent conduct to the king. Consequently he received the royal mandate to commit the government to some person for whose conduct he would be responsible, and appear before the king without delay. Having endeavoured in vain to elude this order, he was at length obliged to obey. On his departure he left the government unfortunately in the hands of his son lord Thomas, a youth scarcely twenty-one years of age, and, contrary to the positive directions of his majes-

1522.

His vanity
on his suc-
cess.

1524.

CHAP. ty, supplied his castles from the royal stores with arms and
 IV. ammunition for their defence, against the apprehended at-
 tacks of his enemies, to whom he had given such cause for
 retaliation.

Rebellion of
 his son lord
 Thomas.

Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, above mentioned, was of a captivating person and pleasing endowments, but rash and inconsiderate, the natural consequence of his extreme youth, and possessed with an immoderate pride of family, and contempt for the ancient enemies of his house. Deceived by a false rumour of his father's being executed in England, he took the advice of his Irish associates, and engaged in open rebellion. Attended by a body of one hundred and fifty well armed cavalry, he rushed with his followers into the council, then sitting in Saint Mary's Abbey, and told them, terrified and astonished, that they need not be afraid of injury, that he would act as a generous foe, and now resigned the office of deputy, and declared himself the enemy of King Henry. Cromer, the chancellor and primate of Armagh, took him by the hand, and pathetically exhorted him to desist from the desperate attempt, which his Irish followers, who were ignorant of the prelate's language, supposed to be words expressing an approbation of his designs, and one of them, who was a bard, chaunted in rhapsody the praises of the silken lord, as he termed him, and advised him not to delay, but to hasten to the field of glory. The rude effusions of the rhymer had more influence over him than the sage counsels of the primate. After traversing Fingal, a fertile district, committing great devastation, demanding oaths of fidelity from the inhabitants, and putting those in prison who refused to countenance his rebellion, he laid siege to the castle of Dublin. Here the archbishop Allan, who had been active in effecting Kildare's disgrace, had taken refuge, but apprehensive of his safety got into a vessel with an intent to make his escape to England. By the perfidy or unskilfulness of the pilot, a Fitzgerald, the vessel was stranded at Clontarf, and the unhappy prelate, having taken shelter in an adjacent village, was discovered in his bed by the party of lord Thomas, and carried naked before him. Falling upon his knees, he implored mercy

for a christian and a clergyman, but the young lord, without deigning to answer him, turned about his horse, and exclaimed in the Irish language to his followers, “away with the churl,” an expression that these assassins interpreted in the most malignant sense, and as he held up his hands for mercy, assailed him, and cut him in pieces. This murder, we must charitably suppose, was not intended by the young lord, who on no other occasion displayed a sanguinary disposition.

In his zeal against the English government, he attempted a reconciliation with his old enemies the Butlers, in order to bring them over to his designs, but his proposal was rejected with disdain. Enraged at the contempt they had shewn him, he marched into their territories, and ravaged their extensive lands in security. While thus engaged in plunder, he was recalled by an expected opposition from the citizens of Dublin, who having received assurance of assistance from England, shut their gates against his adherents, and made prisoners of those who were besieging the castle. Offended at their treachery, as he called it, he summoned all his partisans of the pale, and laid siege to the city; but the assailants were all repulsed, and it was at length agreed, that the siege should be raised, and the prisoners on both sides released.

In the mean while the transports with troops from England entered the harbour, and a detachment of them, in the absence of lord Thomas, landed on the northern side. These, as they approached the city, he attacked with great fury, defeated, and either killed or took prisoners, in spite of the exertions of their valiant leader, who wounded him in the action. Elated with his victory, he planted his artillery, which was now much in use, on the hill of Howth, and fired on the vessels at anchor, and others advancing with fresh supplies, which obliged them to go to sea. One of them, laden with horses, was taken by his adherents. Yet, notwithstanding his successes, Sir William Brereton, a brave English knight, effected a landing on the opposite shore with five hundred men, and was followed with another body by Sir William Skeffington, the new deputy. Their arrival in the city, announced by public rejoicings, admonished

C H A P. lord Thomas to retreat, who continued for some time in-
IV. active in the west, either on account of the severity of winter, or an agreement for a suspension of arms with the deputy, whose bodily infirmities rendered him averse to warfare.

In spring hostilities were commenced by laying siege to the strong castle of Maynooth, on which the royal army could make no impression, until the foster-brother of lord Thomas, called Parese, betrayed it for a stipulated reward. This reward was punctually paid him on their entering the fort, but as he had made no condition for the security of his own person, he was afterwards hanged by Skeffington. In the mean while the young Geraldine proceeded to its relief with a tumultuary army, which he had collected in Ulster and Connaught, but on hearing of its surrender, they deserted in great numbers. Still he resolved to meet the enemy in the field, and was advancing for that purpose with those who still adhered to him, when a hundred and forty of his gallowglasses* were intercepted and taken prisoners, who, after their surrender, on the near approach of the two armies were cruelly put to death by the deputy. This barbarous precaution was not necessary, for when the inconsiderate Irish met their enemy at Naas, they fled at the first discharge of the royal artillery. Lord Thomas now retired into Munster, accompanied by a few of the partisans of his family, who might make some predatory excursions, and was followed by a body of royal troops under his relative lord Leonard Grey, who became apprehensive of a desultory warfare in a strange country, and proposed to him a treaty of submission, which he thought fit to accept. Accordingly, he dismissed his troops, and attended lord Grey to Dublin, who was appointed lord-deputy on the death of Skeffington. His principal adherents also, O'Nial and O'Connor, now submitted.

Execution
of him and
his uncles

The young Geraldine was sent over to England in sure hope of having his pardon confirmed, but on his way to Windsor he was arrested and put in the Tower. He now learned, when it was too late, that his father was not exe-

* Heavy-armed infantry.

cuted, but had died of grief on account of his rebellion. In CHAP.
vain need he expect mercy from the implacable Henry, who IV.
had resolved to cut off every branch of his family. Accordingly, the tyrant sent orders to the new deputy to arrest his five uncles, of whom three had condemned the conduct of their nephew, and send them prisoners to London. Being invited by him to a banquet, they were seized, in the midst of the conviviality, sent to London, and with their nephew condemned for high treason and executed.

Of that illustrious family one alone remained, Gerald, a brother of lord Thomas, a youth of twelve years of age. Conveyed by his aunt out of the country, he was delivered to the protection of the king of France, and emperor of Germany successively, from both of whom he was demanded by Henry as a rebel subject; afterwards he was committed to the care of the excellent cardinal Pole, by whom he was preserved, in defiance of the tyrant's threats, to regain the honours of his noble house.

CHAPTER V.

Sale of indulgences by Leo X.—Reformation by Luther—Opposition of Henry VIII—His change of opinion—His innovations abhorred by the Irish—Mission of Browne to convert them—Interference of the pope—Application to O’Nial—Battle of Bellahoe—Fate of Grey—Submission of chieftains—Partial—Measures of the council of Edward VI—Their attachment to the reformation—Prejudices of the Irish—New liturgy opposed by primate Dowdal—Read in Christ’s church—Dowdal’s controversy—Departure from the kingdom—Violence of Bale—Few commotions from religious motives—Trouble given by Tir-owen—Chieftains soothed by queen Mary—Popery restored—Insurgents in Leinster punished—More powerful in the north—Suppressed in the south—Persecution in Ireland prevented.

CHAP.
V.

Sale of indulgences
by Leo X.

AN extraordinary revolution at this time took place on the continent of Europe, which had a very sensible influence on Ireland. Pope Leo X, a prelate of an elegant genius, by his encouragement of literature and the fine arts, his indulgence in pleasure, and by various projects of improvement, had involved himself in an expense, which his ordinary revenues were unable to sustain. In order to recruit his finances it was recommended to him to have recourse to the sale of indulgences for sin, which, in those days of superstition, had been often tried with success. Accordingly, he published a sale of general indulgence, but committed the disposal of them, not, as usual, to the monks of the Augustinian order, but to those of the Dominican, on the supposition, that, by being less acquainted with the secrets of that traffic, they would make a more equitable return of their profits.

Reforma-
tion by
Luther.

This mercenary mode of affording pardon for sin, brought first Martin Luther into notice. He was a monk of the Augustinian order, a professor in the university of Wirtemberg, and distinguished for piety and learning, and for a bold and daring turn of mind. Offended either at the ne-

glect with which his order was treated on the present occasion, or at the great abuse in the distribution of indulgences, he railed publicly against the sale of them in the university of Wirtemberg. He then applied himself to study on these topics, and as his reading increased, gradually discovered the various other errors of popery, which had been so long concealed under the veil of superstition. He exposed them to the public in their native deformity, declaimed against the nomination of the pope, denied his infallibility, and proved his religion to be contrary to the word of God, on which alone the faith of a christian should be founded. His opinions, which were at first delivered from the pulpit in a rude eloquence, were afterwards committed to writing, and, by means of the invention of printing, were soon spread over all Germany. They obtained a very favourable attention, and were embraced by vast numbers, who ventured to declare their disbelief of those doctrines that were sanctioned by the authority of time. Thus was this ancient fabric of superstition, which had stood firm for ages, at length undermined by the daring hands of this bold reformer.

C H A P.
V.

The rumour of these innovations on the continent soon reached England, which was prepared for the reception of the new doctrines, from the extravagant demands imposed by the clergy, and from the remains still subsisting of the Lollards, whose opinions resembled those of Luther. The people, however, were prevented from openly declaring their sentiments, on account of the strong attachment of the king to the catholic religion, and his aversion to Luther, against whom he wrote a book in Latin, which he sent to the pope, who received it as a precious gift, and conferred on the author the title of defender of the faith, which has been still preserved by his successors.

Opposition
of Henry
VIII.

After this compliment paid him, he continued on good terms with the pope, till he opposed his intended divorce from his first queen, Catherine of Arragon, which offended him so much, that he renounced his supremacy, and, with the concurrence of parliament, declared himself supreme head of the church. Yet he was no convert to the protestant religion, and differed from other catholics only in this point,

His change
of opinion.

CHAP. that he denied the authority of the sovereign pontiff in
V. spiritual matters, and assumed it to himself. His opinions were therefore of a peculiar kind. But the despot, by excessive violence, obliged all others to profess the same. Hence he would deliver a catholic to the hangman for acknowledging the supremacy of the pope, and commit a protestant to the flames for denying the real presence.

His innovations abhorred by the Irish

Having succeeded in England by the severe exercise of authority, he attempted to introduce his religious innovations into Ireland, a soil ill fitted for their reception. The native Irish, who were never allowed the benefit of the English laws, were involved in profound ignorance, which rendered them extremely bigotted in their religion, and of course incapable of being affected by any arguments deduced from either reason or scripture. Connected by no common system of policy, harassed by a constant succession of petty wars, distracted by mutual jealousy, and living in continual alarm, they had little leisure for speculation. They were also very averse to any innovations that England would require them to accept, as they considered that country inhabited by their enemies. Besides, they were in a high degree attached to the pope, as it was a general opinion among them, that Ireland was his peculiar patrimony, which, on that account, was called the Holy Island, and as the kings of England derived only from him their title to dominion over it, they considered the present monarch, by renouncing his supremacy, as guilty of an odious rebellion against his spiritual sovereign. It would, therefore, they thought, be impious to give him any support or countenance in his wicked designs. This argument had also considerable influence over many of the English race in Ireland.

Mission of Browne to convert them

In order to promote the designs of Henry, George Browne, provincial of the friars of Saint Augustine, a man of real sincerity and charity, of simplicity of manners, and liberality of religious sentiments, was promoted to the see of Dublin. With other commissioners, he was sent over to Ireland, instructed to endeavour, by conferring with the clergy and nobility, to obtain a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the king. This his majesty imagined would be as easily effected as in England, but the distance rendered

his inflexible severity less formidable. The commissioners, C H A P.
V. therefore, met with violent opposition, especially from Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Englishman by birth, who was offended at his being removed from the office of chancellor, which he held some time, and also at the shocking cruelties exercised on the family of Kildare, to whom he was much attached. When they thus failed in their intentions, Browne recommended a parliament to be summoned, which was accordingly held in Dublin by lord Leonard Grey. May 1,
1536. In convening this parliament, the usual modes were not adopted; the acts were not previously certified, according to the law of Poynings, which was suspended by the king's assent; nor were the two ecclesiastical proctors summoned from each diocese. In this parliament, thus assembled, an act was passed, after strenuous opposition, renouncing the authority of the pope over the church of Ireland, and establishing the supremacy of the king. Several other acts were passed, similar to those of the English parliament,* by which the king was invested with the first fruits of bishopricks, and other secular promotions, and with those of abbies, priories, colleges, and hospitals.

Yet archbishop Browne, the zealous supporter of the king's supremacy, found it difficult to put the act enjoining Interfer-
ence of the
pope. it in execution. Many incumbents of his diocese resigned their benefices rather than own it, and the clergy of his cathedral opposed his attempt to remove their images and relics. In this opposition they were encouraged by secret communications from the pope, who had sent from Rome a commission to Cromer and his associates, allowing them authority to absolve all persons from their oaths in favour of the king's supremacy; enjoining those who had taken

* After the example of that parliament, they enacted, That the marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon should be null and void, and that the inheritance of the crown should be in the king and his heirs by queen Anne, declaring it to be high treason to oppose this succession, &c. &c.—Yet scarcely had this act passed, when intelligence arrived of the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with lady Jane Seymour. On this occasion, with the same servility, and obedience to the king's caprice, as had been displayed in the English parliament, they instantly repealed the recent act, and, by another law, passed sentence of attainder on the late queen, and all accused as accomplices in her supposed infidelity, declaring both the former marriages null and void, and confirming the succession to the heirs of the king by queen Jane.

C H A P. such oaths to confess the guilt of them within forty days,
V. and to enter into new and most solemn engagements to
 support the papal power against all opponents.

Applica-
 tion to
 O'Nial.

Application was also made by the pope and his confederates to the Irish chieftains of Ulster, exciting them to take up arms in defence of the ancient religion. To O'Nial, in particular, a letter was sent from the bishop of Metz, in the name of the council of cardinals, containing a pretended prophecy of a popish saint, and enjoining him, 'for the glory of the mother church, and the honour of saint Peter, to suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness.'

Battle of
 Bellahoe.

This letter highly flattered the vanity of O'Nial, who considered himself the champion of the church. He collected his forces, and found himself at the head of a large army, being joined by many other northern chieftains, who were roused to arms by the clergy, for the glorious purpose of supporting the true religion. This confederated army from the north, committing great ravages, proceeded as far through Meath as the hill of Tarah, where they were reviewed in a pompous manner by their commander, O'Nial. Thence they thought fit to retire with their booty, as the forces of the lord-deputy approached; who pursued them with great speed, and overtook a part of them, detached from the main body, at a place called Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, posted in an advantageous position, with a river in front. Lord Grey and his associates boldly passed through the stream, though their passage was obstinately opposed, and defeated the enemy, who fled in dismay, and communicated their panic to the main body, which also in an instant took to flight, and dispersed themselves with such celerity among their haunts, that, in a battle and pursuit, which continued till dark night, four hundred only of the vanquished were slain.

1539.

Fate of
 Grey.

The victory of Ballahoe, that diffused terror through the Irish chieftains of Ulster, closed the services of that zealous deputy, lord Leonard Grey. He was immediately after recalled, and received such an ungrateful return for his fidelity, as might be expected from the abominable tyrant that employed him. Pursued by his enemies, the Butlers, with whom he had frequent contentions during

his government, and by the zealots of the church, to whom he had given great offence, by promoting so earnestly the king's peculiar schemes of religion, he was committed to the Tower of London on a variety of frivolous and groundless charges. Though he had displayed great valour in the field, yet he was destitute of the courage that this occasion required. 'Possessed of the most horrid apprehensions of the violence and rigour of the king, he declined a trial, and resigning his life and honours to the discretion of a merciless despot, he pleaded guilty, and was beheaded.'

C H A P.
V.

The native Irish, instigated by a zeal for religion, were encouraged by the removal of this unhappy lord to renew their insurrections. The northern chieftains having formed a league with Murrough O'Brien, collected their forces in the western side of Meath, and were prepared to make a furious attack on the English settlements. But Sir William Brereton, to whom Grey had committed the government on his departure, marched boldly against them with great speed, which terrified them so much, that they dispersed without a battle, and fled precipitately into their woods and other fastnesses.

Discouraged by repeated defeats, the abettors of the pope deserted the cause of his holiness. Many monasteries were resigned into the king's hands, and the Irish lords made a general submission, taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The earl of Desmond, who had claimed the ridiculous privilege of absenting himself from parliament, and not entering into a walled town, resigned the boasted rights of his family, took the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and delivered up his son to receive an English education. His example was followed by some others of the degenerate lords of English race, who had adopted the Irish manners, and lived in a state of independence. Sir Anthony Saint Leger, to whom the king had committed the government, was busied in receiving professions of obedience both from these, and from the native Irish chieftains. The title of *King of Ireland*, instead of *Lord of Ireland*, which had been conferred on Henry by the Irish parliament, held in 1541, probably struck those barbarians with more respect for his majesty.

Submission
of chief-
tains.

C H A P. V. On some of the chieftains, both of degenerate English and native Irish, were titles of nobility conferred by the king, on their making professions of allegiance. The three following, who renewed their submissions to his majesty in London, require to be particularly noticed. Uliac de Burgo, called also MacWilliam, was created earl of Clanricard and baron of Dunkellin; Murrough O'Brien was created earl of Thome and baron of Inchequin; Con O'Nial earl of Tyrone. His natural son Mathew was made baron of Dungannon.

Partial. The honours conferred on these eminent lords were certainly advantageous to the English government, but the benefit would have been more general, if the inferior chieftains were taken under the royal protection, and rendered independent of their superiors. The latter, indeed, after all their professions, were still eager to retain their authority over them; for though the chieftains, who had received English titles of nobility, were bound, on obtaining them, to hold their lands by military tenure, according to the feudal system prevalent in England, yet, as they supposed that system would restrain their power over their vassals, they would not adhere to it, but continued to rule by the Brehon law, which was the cause of much disorder. Some septs, it is true, possessed a desire of being governed by the English law, and offered to petition to that effect; particularly the sept of O'Byrne, once very troublesome, who requested that their territory should be converted into an English county, under the name of Wicklow, but this reasonable request was neglected or denied. The only new arrangement thought fit to be established at the time, was the division of Meath into two counties, the eastern and western.

Still it is a matter of doubt, whether a compliance with their request would have rendered them more civilized. Some districts of Munster and Connaught had English colonies long settled in them, and were formed into counties. A few regulations were lately adopted for their government, and as much of the English law introduced as was supposed consistent with their prejudices; yet such was the barbarous state of those wild countries, that no justice dare put the regulations in force. This plainly shows that the late ge-

neral submission was not real. The black rent was indeed abolished by the parliament held by lord Grey, but pensions were still continued to some Irish chieftains, by making them governors of forts, and on other pretences. The king certainly had a good deal of influence over them, as the earl of Lenox, at his majesty's recommendation, got three thousand of the Irish to accompany him in his fruitless expedition to Scotland. His influence, however, would have been much greater, had he afforded a suitable attention to the country, and not employed his thoughts and time, like many of his predecessors, in useless attempts to conquer France. This afforded frequent opportunities to the native Irish to raise insurrection, and allowed the influence of some of the great barons to become so exorbitant, that they could thwart the measures of government at pleasure. The family of Fitzgerald formerly possessed that power, but, on their suppression, that of Butler attained it. A quarrel of this family with the present deputy proved fatal to the earl of Ormond, who, by some means unknown, was poisoned at a feast at Ely house, with sixteen of his retinue. 1546.

On the death of Henry and accession of his son Edward VI, a boy of nine years of age, the native Irish began once more to form schemes for insurrection. The English council, apprehensive of this, sent over Edward Bellingham, a brave and experienced commander, with a very seasonable reinforcement of six hundred horse, and four hundred foot, for the support of the Irish government. On their arrival they found it necessary to march against O'Moore and O'Connor, the chieftains of Leix and Offally, who, under pretence of some injury received, had taken arms, and spread confusion through the province of Leinster. These insurgents were defeated by the united forces of Bellingham and the deputy, and on their surrender were sent over prisoners to England, where O'Moore soon after died in his captivity, and O'Connor, on account of an attempt to escape, was more rigidly confined. Their territories were seized by Bellingham, who placed colonies and erected castles in them, and thus made a large addition to the pale, which had not been effected for several years past. For this service he obtained the honour of knighthood, and office of

C H A P. governor, in place of Saint Leger, in which he continued to
V. distinguish himself by his activity.

For the sake of preserving the public peace, it was thought requisite that all suspected lords should reside at the seat of government, under the immediate inspection of the deputy. The earl of Desmond had done so for some time, but on the accession of the present king, he had retired to his lands, and resuming his usual course of rude magnificence and independence, refused to obey the summons of the deputy to repair to Dublin. On which he pierced into Munster with a small train, and having surprised him in his castle, brought him along with him. He then induced him by gentle treatment to reside in Dublin, and by his advice and example reconciled him to the enjoyment of a peaceable mode of life and civilized society. Such was his zeal in the discharge of his duty. But the cabals of his enemies soon occasioned his recall, and thus deprived the colony of his services. After the administration of two others, which was of very short duration, Sir Anthony Saint Leger was again appointed deputy, as Somerset, the protector, thought his experience would be useful in effecting the reformation of religion, which he resolved to extend to Ireland.

Their attachment to the reformation.

The present reformation in England was very different from the one introduced there by command of Henry VIII, who, being a strict Roman catholic in other points, renounced only the supremacy of the pope, and obliged his subjects to do the same. But the young king and his council, supported by numbers of the people, not only renounced this, but all the doctrines of popery, and had a national liturgy composed suitable to their religious principles, and established by act of parliament.

Prejudices of the Irish.

The severity of Henry's government obliged many in Ireland, both of the native chieftains and English barons, to make a formal profession of a religious belief similar to the singular one he had adopted. But these were merely nominal conformists, and were secretly as much as ever attached to the pope. Of course they were peculiarly hostile to the present enlarged system of reformation, and, during the weak reign of a minor, were not restrained by terror from openly declaring their aversion. Those of an inferior

station were grossly ignorant, nor was any pains taken to afford them instruction, or prepare them for the reception of the rational doctrines of the reformed faith. Archbishop Browne was more busily engaged in taking away images from the churches, and destroying relics, than providing proper instructors to convince them of their errors. Those sent among them for that purpose were ignorant of the Irish language, which, even in the English settlements, was mostly prevalent, and, of course, their advice would not be understood. Whereas the instructions of their opponents, however illiterate, being delivered in that language, had a suitable effect, and rooted them in their prejudices.

It not being thought expedient to call a parliament on the present occasion, Saint Leger summoned a meeting of the clergy, and proposed the new liturgy in the English language for their acceptance. This proposal was opposed with great violence by George Dowdal, a native of Ireland, primate of Armagh, who had been promoted by Henry, in spite of the pope. To make amends for his time-serving compliance at his promotion, he displayed great zeal in resisting the new liturgy, observing with scorn that it enabled every illiterate fellow to read *mass*. After some violent altercation he left the assembly, accompanied by most of his suffragans.

His opposition, however, was not effectual. Browne, who was next in dignity, declared his acceptance of it, as did some other prelates, and it was soon after read in the cathedral of Christ's church in Dublin, in the presence of the lord-deputy, magistrates and clergy. Those, however, sincerely attached to it were very few. The prejudices of the people against the reformation were not only increased by the influence of Dowdal and the seceding clergy, but also by the mercenary conduct of the commissioners appointed to remove relics and other objects of superstition from churches, who seized the most valuable furniture there, under pretence of obeying the orders of state, and exposed them to sale.

In order to impress the people with an opinion of his superior sanctity, Dowdal retired to the abbey of Saint Mary, near Dublin, where he received a letter from the new deputy, Sir James Crofts (Saint Leger being removed for not be-

CHAP.
V.

The new liturgy opposed by primate Dowdal.

1551.
Read in Christ's church, Easter day.

Dowdal's controversy.

CHAP. ing sufficiently active in promoting the reformation), inviting
V. him to a conference on the theological subjects of dispute, which he agreed to attend, but refused to leave the abbey, where it was publicly held, before many of the clergy of the two opposite persuasions. Dowdal himself supported the mass, Staples, bishop of Meath, the reformed mode of worship. The contest was very violent, and, as usual in such cases, each party claimed the victory, and went off more attached to their own, and more averse to the principles of their opponents.

Departure
from the
kingdom.

As the new liturgy was not as yet established here by act of parliament, Dowdal's opposition to it did not render him obnoxious to any penalty. A punishment was however inflicted on him, which would appear ridiculous in these days. The dignity of primacy, by royal patent, was transferred from the see of Armagh to that of Dublin. Disgusted at this disgrace, or apprehensive of more severe treatment, he timidly deserted his diocese on the present emergency, and retired to the continent. It being considered by the king that he had abdicated his pastoral charge, his see was conferred on another, named Goodacre.

Violence of
Bale.

A strenuous zeal for the reformation was naturally at this time a strong recommendation to government, and accordingly the see of Ossory was conferred on John Bale, a man of deep learning, when compared to the rest of the Irish clergy, but of a vehement imperious temper, and a furious opposer of popery. By the acrimony of his censures he frequently insulted the prejudices of his flock, and once so much exasperated the populace, that five of his domestics were massacred before his face, and he himself with difficulty escaped.

Few com-
motions
from reli-
gious mo-
tives.

Yet, considering the prejudices of the people, few disorders were at present occasioned by religious motives, and more arose from a bigotted attachment of the natives to their ancient manners and customs; of which many of them at this time became particularly tenacious, as the revival of the English power caused them to cherish still more the remembrance of their ancient grandeur and independence. Hereditary succession was entirely inconsistent with their prejudices, and hence, on the death of the earl of Clanricard, his

followers elected one of their sept to succeed him, without regard to the pretensions of his son the legal heir, who was obliged to vindicate his claim by force of arms. A dispute of a similar nature took place on the demise of the earl of Thomond.

The principal trouble, however, that the English government experienced at this time, arose from the factious conduct of the ancient family of O'Nial. Though the earl of Tyrone, in the preceding reign, joined the other chieftains in their submission, yet he was still possessed with extravagant ideas of the royal dignity of his family, which were increased by his intercourse with his kinsmen and followers. His partiality to his natural son Mathew, whom he had declared his legal heir, and appointed baron of Dungannon, gave great offence, as might be expected, to his legitimate children, who endeavoured to detach him from the favourite, and from the government that supported his pretensions. In this they completely succeeded, and Mathew, having received information of his father's designs, communicated it to Sir James Crofts, the successor of Saint Leger, by whom the earl and his countess, an active instigator, were committed to close custody in Dublin. The earl's son John, or Shane, as he was called, affected now great resentment, and being joined by his followers, and some neighbouring chieftains, declared war against Mathew, to whose intrigues he imputed the indignity offered to his parents. Mathew now applied to the deputy for aid, who hastened to his assistance with some new-raised levies; but John and his partisans, reinforced by a roving body of Scots, suddenly attacked the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter. Encouraged by his success, he plundered his father's mansion, and ravaged his territory, the most flourishing district in the whole island. Repeated attempts were afterwards made by the deputy to reduce him, but all his efforts were ineffectual.

In the mean while died the amiable Edward VI, who was succeeded, after a slight interruption from Northumberland, by Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII.—With the same appearance of clemency, as was shown in England on her coronation, Mary granted a general par-

1553.
Chieftains
soothed by
Queen
Mary

C H A P.
V.

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V.

don to all her subjects in Ireland. Some time after she also extended particular graces to many of these, among which may be reckoned the complete restoration of the noble family of Kildare. The young lord Gerald, who had escaped the vengeance of Henry VIII, having returned to England in the reign of Edward, and, by his graceful person and refined manners, captivated the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, knight of the garter, formed an interest, by his marriage with this lady, which soon gained him the royal favour. Hence he was restored to the honours and estates of his ancestors. About the same time, Charles Kavanagh, as he was called, head of the great Leinster family of M'Murchad, was created baron of Balyan, yet, by a strange intermixture of English and Irish customs, he was nominated captain of his clan, for the purpose of exercising the ancient jurisdiction over his followers. Another instance of royal grace, was the liberation of O'Connor, chieftain of Offally, from his long confinement, by means of the captivating manners of his daughter, who formed connexions at the court of England.

Popery re-
stored.

Mary, judging of the disposition of her Irish from that of her English subjects, was more willing to grant these favours, in order to smooth the way for the introduction of her religion; but she had no occasion for this mode of conciliation, as the people were sufficiently inclined to it of themselves, and, indeed, hardly any other religion was at that time known in the country. Saint Leger, who had been entrusted with the government in the late reign, for the purpose of establishing the reformed mode of worship, was again made deputy with express orders to suppress it. The officers of state were confirmed in their several departments, but particular favours were conferred on those who had suffered by their adherence to the ancient faith. Among these was George Dowdal, who was restored to the dignity and office of primate of all Ireland, and vested with the priory of Athirdee. The return of this zealous ecclesiastic was the signal to the reformed clergy of the approaching storm. Bale of Ossory, the bitter enemy of popery, fled in dismay, as did Browne of Dublin, with some others, who had taken wives, and were apprehensive of the consequence, as Dow-

dal had received a commission to inquire into that offence. CHAP.
V.
The zeal of this churchman even exceeded that of the court, and he was strenuous in his endeavours to restore the whole popish system.

For the express purpose of re-establishing the ancient faith and worship, a parliament was convened by earl Sussex, the successor of Saint Leger, which met on the first day of June 1556. To this assembly was communicated a bull sent to the deputy by cardinal Pole, the legate of England. It recited the fatal separation of Ireland from the holy see, occasioned solely by fear, and the readiness with which the whole island returned to its obedience to the sovereign pontiff on the accession of Mary, that immaculate princess, who, in times of severe trial, had still kept herself pure from the pollution of heresy. It pronounced a plenary absolution on all the inhabitants for their late offence, and, after ratifying different ecclesiastical proceedings during the schism, and giving some advice to the possessors of church lands, it enjoined the parliament to abrogate all laws against the supremacy of Rome. The bull was read aloud by the chancellor, on his knees, and was received by the whole assembly of lords and commons in the same humble posture, in token of reverence and contrition. The assembly then adjourned to the cathedral, where a *te Deum* was solemnly chaunted on the present happy occasion. The parliament were particularly attentive to the orders they had received; they revived all statutes for the suppression of heresy; restored the jurisdiction of the pope; ratified the provisions of the bull transmitted by cardinal Pole; consented that the crown should give up the ecclesiastical property in its possession, yet still insisted that the laity should retain the church lands granted them in the reign of Henry VIII.

Previous to the meeting of this parliament, the deputy exerted himself in the suppression of an insurrection in Leix and Offally, where the Irish inhabitants, unwilling to resign their lands to the new settlers, stirred up their friends and followers to resist the usurpation, as they called it, and thus brought down the vengeance of government on their own heads. Numbers of them were cut off in the field or

Insurgents
in Leinster
punished.

C H A P. V. executed by martial law ; and the whole race would have been utterly extirpated, had not the earls of Kildare and Ormond interceded with the queen, and become sureties for the peaceable behaviour of some survivors. These districts, by an act of the parliament above mentioned, were for ever vested in the crown, and converted into shires.—Leix, in compliment to the queen, was named Queen's County, and its principal fortress, Maryborough ; Offally, in honour to her husband, Philip the second of Spain, was called King's County, and its chief fortress Philipstown. In this parliament was passed an act explaining the famous law of Poynings, by which it was enacted, that no bill, nor even heads of a bill, could be framed by the lords or commons of Ireland, but only by the Irish viceroy and privy council, who should transmit the bills to England, to the king and privy council there, to be approved, altered, or rejected.

More powerful in the north.

In Leix and Offally, government had more influence than in the north, where John O'Nial was able to raise disturbance, in defiance of the regulations they had made. His brother Mathew, baron of Dungannon, he contrived to pursue with incessant hostility, until at last he had him assassinated. When he got rid of this rival, he thought fit to interfere in the dissensions that took place between the sons of old O'Donnel, the chieftain of Tyrconnel. One of these, called Calvagh, put his father in prison, and another, named Hugh, took refuge with O'Nial, whom he invited to invade his father's territory, which he did with a great army, being glad of an excuse to ravage the country. The inhabitants, on the first appearance of the invasion, secreted their most valuable effects, and drove their cattle into the most inaccessible places ; and Calvagh and his father being reconciled by the common danger, the old chieftain ordered his son not to meet the enemy in the field, but to make an attack on his camp at night. This advice being approved of, two gallant youths went into the enemy's camp, at the close of day, to spy out their situation, of which they got an accurate knowledge, and were even so little suspected, that the guards invited them to partake of their supper, which they declined, as their acceptance of this invitation

would have formed an inviolable bond of friendship between them, and of course prevented them from giving the intelligence required. Calvagh having formed his army into a compact body, and being led on by the spies, assaulted the enemy's camp at midnight, and dispersed them with terrible slaughter. O'Nial himself with difficulty escaped.

Such were the domestic commotions that prevailed in the north, in defiance of the interference of administration, which, however, had more effect in the south, as appears by the following instance. Daniel O'Brien, having slain his brother, the baron of Ibracken, and attempted to establish himself in the sovereignty of Thomond, was defeated by the lord-deputy, who conferred the earldom on the right heir, the son of the deceased baron, which he consented to accept according to the English law, swearing allegiance to his sovereign. At this time a body of Scots from the Hebride islands, who had caused great disturbance in the north, by engaging in the service of Irish chieftains, and had lately formed a part of O'Nial's forces, having, in their dispersion in Tyrconnel, sought employment in the west, were suddenly attacked by the earl of Clanricard, defeated, pursued, and almost totally destroyed. The islands whence they came were also invaded and ravaged by the lord-deputy, in retaliation for the hostilities they had committed in Ireland.

While such contests prevailed in this country, a barbarous persecution of the protestants took place in England, by orders of that cruel and abominable bigot Mary. On this dismal occasion, many divines, and others of exemplary characters, were there committed to the flames for a conscientious adherence to their religion. Of those who could escape, some found a refuge in Ireland, to which country, by means of the lenity of the Irish government, such shocking severities had not been extended. It was, however, designed to make it a scene of similar persecution, for we are assured that Cole, dean of St Paul's, came over for that express purpose; but when he attempted to produce his commission in the council in Dublin, to his great surprise, he found in its place a pack of cards, which had been substituted by the dexterity of his hostess in Chester, who was

C H A P.
V.

Suppressed
in the
south.
1588.

Persecu-
tion in Ire-
land pre-
vented.

C H A P. attached to the protestant religion. Enraged at the disap-
V. pointment he met with, and the ridicule to which he was
 exposed, he sent off in all haste for another commission, but, before its arrival, he was happily deprived of his authority by the death of the queen.

CHAPTER VI.

Protestant religion favoured by Elizabeth—Established by parliament—Violences of O’Nial—Assassination—Confinement of Desmond—A parliament—Disturbances in the south—Plantations attempted—Commutations suppressed—Disputes about prerogative—Apprehensions of invasion—Attempt of Fitzmaurice, &c.—Invasion from Spain—Cruel act of the governor—His recall—Fate of Desmond—Wise government of Perrot—Erroneous parsimony of Elizabeth—A parliament—Opposition to Perrot—Plantation in Munster—Commutations in Connaught—Discontents in Ulster—Resignation of Perrot—Fate of the Armada—Fitzwilliam’s administration—Execution of MacMahon—University of Dublin.

C H A P. **THE** accession of Elizabeth afforded a cheering prospect to
VI. the protestants, who had suffered such cruel treatment under the bigotted reign of her predecessor. By the influence of this illustrious princess, the reformed mode of worship was again established by law in both countries. In England, being the general inclination of the people, it was effected with quiet, but in Ireland, which was so much attached to the ancient faith, it afforded cause or pretext for new commotions. Elizabeth, at first, was cautious of discovering her sentiments on this delicate subject, but when she got herself firmly seated on the throne, she threw off all disguise, and declared herself the avowed patroness of the protestant religion.

1558.
 Protestant religion favoured by Elizabeth.

The earl of Sussex, who was continued in the govern-
ment, for his proper conduct during the last reign, and
had been some time in England, returned with instructions
to get the reformed mode of worship established by law in
Ireland. For this purpose he summoned a parliament, in
which the commons were rather partially convened, as it was
composed of representatives from only ten counties, and from
towns in which the royal authority was predominant. In this
session, in spite of violent clamour, the acts of Mary in fa-
vour of popery, and against heresy, were repealed; the eccle-
siastical supremacy restored to the crown, with the usual be-
nefits from church revenues, and the use of the common
prayer enforced. The election of bishops, by deans and
chapters, by virtue of a writ, styled *conge d'elire*, was abolished,
and the crown invested with authority to nominate them by
letters patent. In a few weeks, the parliament was dissolved,
on account of the opposition afforded, which arose more from
the temporal than spiritual peers, as the bishops were in gene-
ral* peculiarly compliant, and wished to enjoy their situations
in security. The inferior clergy were indeed more obsti-
nate, many of whom, rather than perform service according
to the reformed mode, abandoned their churches, which be-
ing unsupplied by pastors of the new faith, fell into ruin;
and hence the people were deprived of the benefit of public
worship. Very few could understand prayers or sermons
in the English language, and protestant teachers acquaint-
ed with the Irish tongue could not easily be found. The
statutes lately made were in most cases evaded or neglected,
and among the ignorant, a general abhorrence prevailed of
the present heretical government, to which they were ex-
cited by active emissaries from Rome and Spain.

This abhorrence, however, did not excite a general
insurrection. There were, indeed, some local tumults of
little consequence, not on the score of religion, but mostly
among chieftains contending for superiority. The first
general alarm afforded to government, arose from John
O'Nial, a man frequently intoxicated, yet in his sober mo-

C H A P.
VI.Establish-
ed by par-
liament.
January
1560.Violences
of O'Nial.

* Of nineteen only two refused to conform, the Bishops of Meath and
Kildare, who relinquished their sees.

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VI.

ments cautious and circumspect, and sufficiently acute in devising schemes to effect his designs. After specious promises of observing a peaceable conduct, he continued still to break through his engagements, and asserting the rights of his family to the sovereignty of Ulster, made incursions into the territories of neighbouring chieftains, whom he obliged to pay him due submission. Sussex, the deputy, was ordered to reduce him, but he was so artful as to get an accommodation patched up, and being bound by one of the terms of it, to go over to the queen, he complied, but went attended by his guards in their peculiar habits and arms, as if he were a sovereign prince. On his return he attacked some bands of Hebudian Scots, as it were through zeal for the queen's service, and made his hostilities with them a pretence for augmenting and training his forces, but when his designs could be no longer concealed, he openly made war against government. He drew out his troops to the walls of Derry, as if to make an attack on it, but was repulsed by the garrison with great slaughter. He then made excursions towards the pale, and demolished some castles on the borders of it; burned the church of Armagh, as heretical worship had been performed in it by Henry Loftus, the archbishop, who had lately been promoted to the see; he also ravaged the whole district of Fermanah, and expelled the chieftain, who had refused to acknowledge his superiority; he affected to be the champion of the catholic faith, and dispatched ambassadors to the pope and king of Spain for assistance.

Assassina-
tion.

In order to oppose him with effect, the deputy very prudently engaged in the royal cause several Irish chieftains whom O'Nial had injured, particularly O'Donnel of Tyrconnel, and Macguire of Fermanah, and assailed him on all sides with such success, that he at length resolved to surrender at discretion. From this resolution he was diverted by his secretary, who advised him rather to take refuge with a body of Scots encamped at Clan-hu-boy. Piers, an English officer, being informed of this determination, very artfully inflamed the Scots against him, who invited him to their camp with seeming friendship, and having entertained him at a banquet with fifty of his followers, in the

midst of the carousal, picked a quarrel with him, and put them all to the sword. His head was sent to Dublin by Piers, who received a thousand marks as a reward for this service. Turlough Lynnough O'Nial, a man of a peaceable disposition, related to the family of Kildare, was declared his successor, who was bound to claim no sovereignty over the neighbouring Irish lords, and to allow the sons of Matthew, baron of Dungannon, to enjoy his demesnes without molestation. A son of John, who had formerly been delivered as a hostage, was strictly confined in the castle of Dublin, lest he should cause any interruption to this arrangement.

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VI.
1567.

During the hostile movements of O'Nial, disturbances of less moment took place in Ireland. The earl of Desmond, in attempting to wrest some lands from the earl of Ormond, was wounded and taken prisoner. The matter of dispute was referred to the queen, before whom they both appeared, and was settled by her according to equity; but Desmond, on his return, refusing to make reparation to Ormond, was seized by the deputy, and sent to London, where he and his brother John were confined in the Tower. Different other broils took place among contending chieftains, and in the midst of such confusion a parliament was summoned by order of the queen.

Confine-
ment of
Desmond.

January
1569.

Government could not, without great difficulty, ensure a majority in the House of Commons, and were obliged to have recourse to modes of election not strictly legal, which were, however, countenanced by the opinion of the judges. In this parliament a suspension of Poynings' law was passed, after great opposition from the popular party; a subsidy was granted to the queen in place of coyn and livery; those who chose got liberty to surrender their lands, and receive them from the crown as English tenures; the lands of John O'Nial, except those possessed by Turlough, were forfeited to the crown; the lord-deputy obtained authority, on account of great abuses, to present to ecclesiastical dignities in Munster and Connaught for ten years. The division of Connaught into counties, which had been settled before, was confirmed by this parliament; but no judges of assizes could hold their sittings there, the country was so disturbed, and Sir Edward Fitton, appointed president, was obliged

A parlia-
ment.

C H A P. to govern by a mode partly civil, and partly military.—
VI. The lands forfeited to the crown in Ulster, were still possessed by the natives, the abbey lands and houses by the Romish clergy, and the pope still continued to give away the bishopricks of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe. He had issued an excommunication against the queen, who was considered by his numerous adherents here an usurper, and an abominable heretic doomed to perdition.

Disturbances in the south.

In the south, disturbances from various causes still prevailed. Sir Peter Carew, having a legal claim on some lands belonging to Sir Edward Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, attempted to take possession of them, but was resisted by force of arms, and in the violence of their contest three hundred of the followers of Butler were slain. His conduct was considered rebellious by the government, but, at the persuasion of his brother, the earl, who had come over from England for that purpose, he was prevailed on to surrender to justice.

1570.

James Fitzmaurice, brother of the earl of Desmond, irritated at his confinement in London, rose up as a champion of the church, against the heretical government of Elizabeth, and seduced to his side the earls of Clancarthy and Thomond. Repulsed in an attack on Kilkenny, he ravaged the open country, and retired into his fastnesses on the approach of the lord-deputy. Clancarthy now thought fit to surrender, and Thomond fled into France, where he obtained his pardon, at the intercession of Norris, the English ambassador. In the mean while, Sir John Perrot being appointed president of Munster, took the command of the southern army. He was reputed the natural son of Henry VIII, and possessed a portion of the inflexible severity of that monarch. He pursued the rebels incessantly, stormed their forts, chased them from their haunts, terrified them by his activity, and at length compelled Fitzmaurice and his adherents, worn out with toil and famine, to surrender at discretion. The inferior agents he executed by martial law, and reserved their leader to the disposal of the queen. Thus, by the rigour of his measures, and strictly enforcing the English law, he reduced the province into

such a state of tranquillity as it had not experienced for about two centuries.

It was at this time thought expedient to make some attempts at plantations from England into the foreited lands of Ulster, which, however, proved abortive. The first, into the barony of Ards, in the county of Down, failed of success, by Smith the conductor of it being murdered by one of the O'Nials. The second, which was of a more extensive kind, was intended for Clan-hu-boy, in the same county, under the direction of Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, who was to get twelve hundred soldiers to accompany him. Leicester, the queen's favourite, encouraged him to make the attempt, that he might be removed from court, being jealous of her partiality for him, and also resolved to thwart him all in his power, that he might lose his interest with her.—In this villainous design he was assisted by Sir William Fitzwilliam, now lord-deputy, who imagined that his gaining such authority here would lessen his own consequence. Hence obstacles were thrown in his way, and even the native Irish encouraged to resist him, which completely ruined his scheme. Soon after he died, either of vexation or poison administered by means of Leicester, who immediately married the countess.

While Essex was employed in his fruitless attempt, an insurrection was raised in Connaught by the sons of the earl of Clanricard, who, however well inclined to it, were at that time provoked by the severities of Sir Edward Fitton, the president of the province. Being reduced to submission, they were pardoned by the queen, on account of the provocation they had received, and Fitton was removed from his office. But they soon after raised new commotions, which were also suppressed, and their father, on suspicion of exciting them, was committed to prison by Sir Henry Sidney, appointed governor again, who had ample powers afforded him, and twenty thousand pounds a-year allowed him from England. He proved himself not unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. Some commotions in Ulster he suppressed with great ease; and proceeding through the several provinces with six hundred men, reduced them to quiet, and executed the laws with due

C H A P. VI severity. He had Sir William Drury appointed to the presidency of Munster, who imitated the conduct of his active predecessor Perrot, and even extended his jurisdiction into Kerry.

Disputes
about pre-
rogative.

While the kingdom was restored to an unusual state of tranquillity, a general discontent was excited by the governor endeavouring to impose, by the queen's prerogative alone, a permanent tax, in place of the occasional subsidy frequently granted for the maintenance of the royal garrisons. Three agents were sent from the pale to plead their cause, before her majesty, who put them into the Tower of London for daring to dispute her prerogative, and confined in a prison in Dublin the noblemen and gentlemen, who had subscribed their names to the paper they brought with them. Elizabeth, however, who could perceive how far she might proceed with safety, at length came to a compromise with them, and let them out on their making an equivocal submission.

Apprehen-
sion of in-
vasion.

At that time she was more particularly desirous of relaxing from her severity, as she was apprehensive, by the intelligence she had received, of Ireland being invaded with troops both from Italy and Spain. Letters from the pope to the Irish natives had been intercepted some time before, exhorting them to persevere in their opposition to the queen's government, assuring them of a supply both of money and troops, and promising them absolution for themselves and their posterity even to the third generation. At Rome, the heretical queen of England was an object of horror, and every adventurer who could offer any mode of annoying her was received with favour.

Attempt of
Fitzmau-
rice, &c.

One of these was James Fitzmaurice, who having surrendered to Perrot, and obtained pardon from the queen, repaid her clemency by applying to foreign countries for aid to renew the rebellion against her. Having tried the king of Spain, he repaired, by his advice, to the pope, who was prevailed on to favour his design of invasion. Accordingly, his holiness gave him a supply of some money, a bull addressed to the Irish, a consecrated banner, and his solemn benediction. With these he returned to Spain, accompanied by one Allen, an Irish jesuit, and Saunders, an English ecclesiastic, now made legate. Philip, though very anxious for

his success, could only afford a band of eighty Spaniards; but Fitzmaurice collected himself some English and Irish fugitives, and having embarked this little force in three vessels, they landed in the bay of Smerwick, in Kerry.—
 Though the place of their landing was hallowed by the benediction of the two pious ecclesiastics, who assured them of success in the glorious cause of the church, their first attempt was rather unfortunate; for their three transports were captured by an English ship of war, which left them without any means of retreat. On their landing they were joined with some forces under Sir John and Sir James Desmond, brothers to the earl, who, with the former, had lately escaped from prison in Dublin. Though well inclined to their cause, the earl hesitated at first to declare openly in their favour, and the invaders having not obtained such success as they expected, Fitzmaurice proceeded to Connaught, in order to excite the disaffected to join him. With this intent he applied to Sir William de Burgo, but being refused, a skirmish took place between them, in which he was slain by Sir William's son, who also fell, and thus ended his career in a petty brawl.

The command of the invaders and their associates now devolved on Sir John Desmond, a man of an infamous character, who had murdered his intimate friend and benefactor for his loyalty. By him the royal army was now harassed in a desultory warfare, as he still hovered about them, and kept them in continual alarm, without allowing them an opportunity to engage him. Encouraged by some success and by a daily augmentation of forces, Sir John and his party at length resolved to stand a decisive action, and accordingly the royal army, under Sir Nicholas Molby, though much inferior in number, proceeded to attack him at an old abbey near Limerick, called Monaster Neva. The Irish, being disposed by the Spanish officers, contended with unusual steadiness, but were at length routed with great slaughter, and among the slain was found the body of Allen the jesuit, who had erected the papal standard, and drawn the sword in its cause. It was now discovered, by intercepted letters, that the earl of Desmond was privately concerting schemes with the rebels, at the very time he was pretending to arm

C H A P.
VI in the royal cause. On getting this information Sir William Pelham, the deputy, made an attack on him, being resolved to punish him for his treachery. His territory was now ravaged, his castles taken, and himself and his followers reduced to great distress. Yet in this desperate situation, affairs seemed to take a turn in his favour, by a reverse of fortune that attended the royal arms.

Arthur, lord Grey, the successor of Pelham, eager to distinguish himself in his new situation, immediately on his arrival sent troops to attack some rebels under lord Baltinglass, and one of the Byrnes, that were posted in the vallies of Glandalough, in Wicklow. Though the veteran soldiers, appointed to that service, perceived, from their knowledge of the Irish mode of warfare, the imminent danger, if not certain ruin, to which they would be exposed from the rash attempt, they yet obeyed the orders he gave them. Accordingly, as they proceeded with difficulty through a deep marshy valley, abounding with rock, and winding through hills thick set with wood, they were assailed by a volley from the woods, though no enemy appeared, and thus, by repeated attacks, were mostly all destroyed, both officers and men, who fell without having any opportunity to distinguish their valour. Several persons of high rank were slain in this unhappy affair, and the governor, who waited the event on a neighbouring eminence, returned in disgrace, with the remains of his forces, to the capital.

Invasion
from Spain

Soon after this disaster, the alarming news arrived, that seven hundred Spanish and Italian troops had landed at Smerwick, with arms and ammunition for five thousand men, and a large sum of money, which they were directed to deliver to the earl of Desmond, his brother John, and doctor Saunders, the legate. Immediately they proceeded to finish a fort which their countrymen had begun, but perceiving the earl of Ormond approach with his army, they made their escape into the woods. Having found, however, on more minute inquiry, that his force was not so great as they apprehended, three hundred of them, with their commander, returned to the fort. Ormond, being unable to lay siege to it, was obliged to wait for the arrival of

Grey, the governor, who soon came from Dublin with eight hundred men, and admiral Winter, having landed his cannon, the fort was regularly besieged. CH A P.
VI.

Terms of capitulation were at different times offered to them, which they refused to accept, declaring in bold language, that they would keep their post, and even extend their acquisitions, as they were sent by the pope and king of Spain to extinguish heresy, and reduce the land to the obedience of king Philip, who was vested by the holy father with the sovereignty of Ireland. Yet after this positive denial, the cannon in a few days had such an effect on them, that the commander resolved to surrender. Offers of capitulation were now made, but Grey refused to grant them any terms at all, and after different solicitations continued still inexorable. The garrison, of course, being reduced to the extremity of distress, surrendered at discretion, and unhappily were denied that mercy which they had so earnestly implored. The commander, San Josepho, with some other officers, were, it is true, made prisoners of war, but the garrison, having no commission to produce from the pope or king of Spain, were, by orders of Grey, disarmed and put to the sword. It is painful to find that this odious service was committed to Sir Walter Raleigh. Various excuses were offered to justify Grey, who had certainly the concurrence of his council to support him, but queen Elizabeth expressed great concern and displeasure at the barbarous execution that took place. Cruel act of
the govern-
nor.

The governor, it appears, was a man of a sanguinary temper. On his return to the capital, after quelling some petty insurrections, a report reached his ears of a conspiracy being formed against the government. Of this no certain evidence was given, but on the very surmise of it, he had several persons put in confinement, and some executed, particularly Nugent, baron of the exchequer, a man of an excellent character, who died professing his innocence. There is every reason to suppose he solemnly declared the truth, both as he rejected his pardon, which was offered him on his confessing his guilt, and discovering the plot, and as the earl of Kildare and others, who were accused of the same crime, were, after a fair trial, fully acquitted, not only of His recall.

C H A P. every serious charge, but of even the semblance of disloyal-
VI. ty. In Munster, also, great severities were exercised by the
 governor, on suspicion, on persons of the old English race, who were zealously attached to the catholic religion. The rigour of his conduct afforded subject of complaint to the queen, who was assured that he left nothing in Ireland for her majesty to rule over but ashes and carcases. He was of course recalled, lords justices were appointed, and a pardon offered to the rebels.

Fate of Des- The earl of Desmond was, however, excepted from the
mond. general pardon. He was indeed in a melancholy situation, and had been already deprived of his most strenuous adherents. His brother, Sir James Desmond, a good while before was taken prisoner, and executed by martial law ; the miscreant, Sir John, fell in a skirmish with a party under an active officer named Zouch ; and Saunders, the pope's legate, worn out with toil and want, died unnoticed in a miserable retreat, where his body was mangled with beasts before it was interred. The earl himself, skulking from place to place, and daily forsaken by some of his attendants, was at last found alone, in a wretched hovel, by a few soldiers of an English garrison, under the command of an Irishman named Kelly of Moriarta, who cut off his head and brought it to the earl of Ormond. At that time two of his agents arrived from Spain with arms and ammunition, but when they heard of the fate that befel him and his adherents, they instantly returned. The earl of Baltinglass also, the last remaining Irish rebel of note, made his escape thither. The whole island now seemed brought under subjection to the queen ; but desolation and famine, the dismal effects of war, were visibly displayed in the southern provinces.

1584. After the suppression of these disturbances, a lord-de-
Wise go-puty was appointed well adapted for the present situa-
vernmenttion of affairs, Sir John Perrot, late president of Munster,
of Perrot, a man of singular integrity, and possessed with an anxious zeal for promoting the interests of the country. The first act of his administration was a proof of his liberality. He published a general amnesty and assurance of protection to all who should return to their allegiance, and sent the earl of Desmond's son to England, in order to be educated in such

principles of loyalty as would render him worthy of any favours that the royal clemency might think fit to bestow. CHAP.
VI.
His great object was to have the English law extended over the whole kingdom, and executed with strict impartiality, that the people might enjoy the benefit of a uniform polity, which might naturally produce a reformation of manners. With this intent, he proceeded to visit the several provinces, commencing with Connaught, in which he had sheriffs appointed. He was, however, stopped in his progress southward by an account of a thousand Scots having landed in the north, which obliged him to march thither; but on his approach, the Scots fled to their ships. The Irish chieftains of Ulster now attended him with alacrity, expressed their wish to accept the English law, and even consented, under the semblance of loyalty, to pay an assessment for the maintenance of eleven hundred troops in their province, without expense to the queen.

Having informed the English government of his success, he applied to them for fifty thousand pounds a-year, for three years, for the purpose of carrying his plan into execution, engaging to maintain a large body of troops, to fortify towns, build bridges and fortresses in proper situations, and thus strengthen the country with royal garrisons connected with each other. This, he declared, would be the cheapest purchase England had ever made for a long time. But the economy of the queen, impatient of the expenses of the Irish government, her eagerness to send troops to the Low Countries to assist the Dutch, and the illiberal advice of some of her council, who thought that, if Ireland were no longer weakened by domestic commotion, it might become independent of the English crown, prevented the lord-deputy from attaining the object of his request. He was only allowed a small sum, and a body of six hundred men, to be incorporated with the army of Ulster. The subsequent Irish wars, and the immense expense with which they were attended, afforded the queen just reason to repent for her mistaken parsimony. Erroneous
parsimony
of Eliza-
beth.

When the deputy had effected such necessary regulations as his finances would allow, he thought fit to convene a parliament in Dublin, which met in April 1585. Several A parlia-
ment.

CHAP.
VI. commoners of the old Irish race attended; among the peers were the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, whose sees had been constantly given away by the pope; and among the temporal barons was Tirlough Linnough O'Nial, the old chieftain of Tir-owen. As it was customary with every government to apply for a suspension of Poynings' law, which was considered as a mark of confidence reposed in them, the present one made the same application, but they were defeated by the members of the pale. In other instances they also met with a violent opposition, which caused the session to be terminated by a sudden prorogation.

Opposition
to Perrot.

The hostilities experienced by the deputy was not indeed confined to debates in parliament; the protection he afforded to the old natives, and his salutary plans for correcting abuses, which interfered with the private interests of particular persons, raised a host of enemies against him, who used every endeavour to effect his disgrace with the queen, and even forged letters against him for the accomplishment of their wicked designs. Though the forgery was detected, yet an evil impression was left on the royal mind, which could not be entirely effaced. Elizabeth, therefore, from whom more discernment might be expected, instead of augmenting his force for the purpose of forwarding his useful plans, drafted the troops from Ireland to the Netherlands, even at the time an invasion was apprehended to take place in Munster. His offer at that time to bring some Irish chieftains along with him to London to declare their allegiance, was also rejected, though their loyal professions (if such professions could be regarded), with the hostages that would be left, might prevent the foreign foe from making the attempt. Yet, under every discouragement, he exerted himself for the general safety, and, in place of an assessment, had a composition appointed in Connaught for the maintenance of the troops.

Plantation
in Mun-
ster.

The sudden prorogation of parliament, occasioned by the violent opposition he experienced, prevented any business of consequence from being done in the first session, but in the second one a bill of attainder was passed against the earl of Desmond, and his numerous adherents. Their

lands* being of course forfeited to the crown, Elizabeth was anxious to plant an English colony in Munster. Advantageous terms were offered, and large grants made to several proprietors, among whom was the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. However, the conditions of the tenure were not performed; a certain number of English tenants, according to his number of acres, was to be supplied by each person obtaining the grant; but great frauds were practised in making up the count. The proprietors, being absentees, committed the management of the colonies to agents who were ignorant or corrupt, and no suitable means of defence were adopted either by the planters or the queen, a neglect unfortunately productive of much future disturbance.

While an attempt was made to introduce more peaceable inhabitants into Munster, the chieftains of the sept of De Burgo, in Connaught, refused obedience to the English law, as it prevented them from exercising tyrannical power over their inferiors, and as the sheriffs and other officers of justice were too imperious and severe in the discharge of their respective duties. Sir Richard Bingham, president of the province, was something of the same cast, but his rigour he considered to be justified by the absolute necessity of the case. One of the De Burgos, named Thomas Roagh, being summoned to the session of judges held in the county of Mayo, refused to attend; on which Bingham ordered him to be seized. He resisted, and was killed, and two of his adherents were taken and executed. This afforded subject for a formal complaint to the deputy, who interfered in favour of the sept of De Burgo, which served only to make them raise fresh disturbances. Bingham opposed them with great spirit, and having obliged Richard, another brother, to surrender, executed him without delay. The deputy, in a rage, summoned him to Dublin to account for his conduct; but they raised a more formidable insurrection in his absence, and declared openly for Spain and Rome. Bingham returning, executed the hostages that had been delivered to him, and prosecuting the war with great vi-

Commo-
tions in
Connaught.

* The lands forfeited amounted to above 574,000 acres, of which the half was hardly granted, and of course a large portion remained to be conferred on those who should be pardoned.

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gour, reduced the insurgents to the last extremity, when two thousand Scottish rovers came to their aid ; but being joined in this emergency by some loyal clans of Irish and degenerate English, he completely defeated the insurgents with their new friends, and thus put an end to the rebellion.

Discon-
tents in
Ulster.

The violence and rapacity of the sheriffs caused the execution of the English law to be also unpopular in Ulster, though the generality of the people, especially the great Irish lords, required no provocation to increase their abhorrence of the government. Hugh O'Nial, son to the late Mathew, baron of Dungannon, having insinuated himself into the favour of the queen, was allowed to keep six companies for the specious purpose of preserving the peace of the north. These, indeed, he did not employ at the present in acts of hostility against the government, yet took no pains to restrain the turbulence of O'Donnel, the powerful chieftain of Tyrconnel, who refused to admit a sheriff into his district.

1588.

In the present debility of the state, Perrot had recourse to a mean artifice to oblige him to keep the peace, which was inconsistent with the usual integrity of his character. He sent a Dublin merchant in a vessel, with Spanish wines, to the coast of Donegal, who passed there for a Spanish one, and having enticed young O'Donnel on board, carried him off, in a state of intoxication to Dublin, where he was kept as a hostage for his father's peaceable conduct.

Resigna-
tion of
Perrot.

This was among the last acts of his administration ; for, after frequent solicitation, he at length obtained his recall, disgusted by the opposition he met with from those of the English race, who were offended at the humanity he displayed towards the native Irish, and misrepresented his conduct with too much success to the queen. As a Spanish invasion was apprehended, he summoned the suspected Irish chieftains before his departure, and advised them to give hostages for their fidelity, which they consented to do.

Fate of the
armada.
1588.

For this invasion an immense fleet was collected, stiled pompously the *invincible armada*, but it was defeated by the valour of the British seamen, and dispersed by storms.

Seventeen vessels, after its discomfiture, containing above five thousand men, were driven on the northern and north western coasts of Ireland, where they were received with cordiality by the natives, especially as they assured them that they would come again, with a formidable force, to free them from the heretical government of Elizabeth. One of their officers, named Antonio de Leva, was cast on the territory of O'Ruarc, the Irish chieftain of Breffney, who immediately took up arms in the cause of Spain. But the Spanish commander having deserted him, was sunk with his men near the coast; and O'Ruarc, being attacked by Bingham, the president of Connaught, made his escape into Scotland, whence he was sent prisoner to London by orders of the king, and there executed as a traitor.

Reports were circulated that the Spaniards had left vast treasures behind them in the places where they were entertained, which soon caught the attention of Sir William Fitzwilliam, successor to Perrot, a man whose principal object was private lucre. Having sent some persons, who failed in the attempt, he went himself, in the middle of winter, to search for them, and was also disappointed. Enraged at his failure, he seized two Irish chieftains, of approved loyalty, Sir Owen M'Toole and Sir John O'Dougherty, on the supposition of their having some, and confined them in the castle of Dublin; the former until his life was in danger, the latter for two years, until he procured his liberty by a bribe. By the same means, with the supposed connivance of the deputy, young O'Donnel, the sons of John O'Nial, and other hostages, made their escape from the castle. While the rest got home in safety, O'Donnel and Arthur O'Nial, being pursued, took refuge in a solitary retreat near the city, where, after some time, they were found by their friends, the latter dead with famine, and the former benumbed with cold. Having recovered, he effected his escape, with an implacable aversion to the English government, and soon after, on the resignation of his father, was invested with the Irish lordship of Tyrconnel.

The deputy did not seem inclined to attempt reconciling the Irish natives, which indeed would have been a very difficult task; his principal object was to get money, and

Fitzwilliam's administration.

Execution of MacMahon,

CHAP. VI. to this he made the interests of the country subservient. One Hugh MacMahon, of Monaghan, having promised him some, if he would obtain for him the inheritance of his deceased brother, to which he was entitled by the English law, did not afterwards keep his word, and was punished for his unhappy failure. The deputy, it is true, went to Monaghan, as if to put him in peaceable possession of his inheritance, but when he arrived there, he was informed that two years before he had enforced by arms the payment of some rents due him, which was indeed contrary to English law, but English law did not at that time exist in that country. Being tried on this futile charge by a jury composed, it is said, of common soldiers, he was condemned and executed, and his lands were confiscated. Such arbitrary proceedings tended to increase the aversion to the English law, which the Irish of Ulster resolved not to admit among them. Hence MacGuire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, when the deputy told him he would send a sheriff into his district, made the following very candid reply:—
 ‘Your sheriff,’ said he, ‘shall be welcome, but let me know his *eric*, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it on the country.’

University
of Dublin.

Though some petty discontents prevailed, yet there was no open insurrection at this time against the government of the queen, who found leisure, in this interval of tranquillity, to found a university in Ireland. Different attempts of this kind had been made since the year 1311, but without effect, particularly one by Sir John Perrot, the late deputy, which was opposed, through motives of private interest, by Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin. However, the same prelate procured for the site of a university the monastery of All-hallows, which had been founded by Desmond M'Murchad, king of Leinster, and, on the dissolution of religious houses, was vested in the mayor and citizens of Dublin. From these he obtained the grant, and also a regular licence and charter from the queen. Hence a college was erected, intended to be the origin of a university, which was styled *The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin*. A provost, three fellows, and three scholars, were appointed, whose names are recorded,

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and Cecil, lord Burleigh, was made the first chancellor. Buildings were erected by public contribution, and in less than two years students were admitted. This college, being cherished amidst the desolations of succeeding wars, by the continual bounty of the queen, obtained a firm establishment, and is now eminent above most other universities for its excellent system of education.

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Jan. 1593.

CHAPTER VII.

Schemes of Tyrone—His duplicity—Rebellion of O'Donnel—Of Tyrone—His feigned submission—Duplicity continued—Renewal of hostilities—A useless conference—Defeat of the loyalists—Rebellion extended—Essex lord-lieutenant—His misconduct—His interview with Tyrone—His fall—Tyrone encouraged by the pope—Mountjoy lord-deputy—His attempt to intercept Tyrone—Seizure of Ormond—Energy and success of Mountjoy—His severe expedient—His alarm—His operations continued—Base coinage—State of Munster—Exertions of Carew—The province reduced—Invaded from Spain—Siege of Kinsale—Vain attempt of Carew—Siege continued—Fresh invasion—General insurrection—Danger of Mountjoy—His victory at Kinsale—Surrender of the Spaniards—Rebellion suppressed in Munster—Tyrone harassed in Ulster—His real submission—His sorrow at the death of Elizabeth—Reflections.

THE turbulent time was now approaching, when the still voice of science was drowned in the clangour of war. A dangerous insurrection was on the point of bursting forth, which afforded Elizabeth just reason to repent for her mistaken parsimony in Ireland, as has been already observed. Matthew O'Nial, baron of Dungannon, was particularly favoured by government, which extended, after his death, the same kindness to his son Hugh. He was a man of no very striking figure, but of a hardy constitution, of deep dissimulation, and polished manners, which were improved by

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Schemes of
Tyrone.

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a liberal education, and an early service in the English army. By his persuasive powers over the queen, he obtained, in 1587, the earldom and estates of Tyrone, except some small portions reserved, and at the same time advised her majesty to have the name of O’Nial abolished, which was absolutely necessary for the peace of the country. Being regarded as a firm friend of the English government, he was unwarily allowed, as already mentioned, six companies of soldiers for the purpose of maintaining the peace of the north. These he constantly dismissed when they learned the use of arms, and took others in their place, by which mode he had the most of his vassals taught military discipline. He also imported vast quantities of lead for bullets, under pretence of covering the roof of his castle at Dungannon.

His duplicity.

Having entered into treasonable conspiracies, particularly with the Spaniards who were driven on the coast, he was apprehensive his designs would be discovered ; and in order to remove all suspicions, he went over to England, where he paid his humble obedience to Elizabeth, and acquiesced in all the conditions imposed on him to secure his peaceable conduct. Soon after his secret engagements with the Spaniards were laid to his charge by the sons of John O’Nial, but he made such a plausible defence as not to forfeit the royal favour. He was of course permitted to return to Ireland, where, with equal artifice, he evaded the formal execution of the articles to which he had agreed. One of the sons of John, named Hugh *Ne-Gavelocke*,* who was his principal accuser, he seized and put to death, which he could not get done till he sent for an executioner to a distant part of the kingdom, so highly was the name of O’Nial respected. Though the queen was enraged at this atrocious act, yet he made such specious excuses, that the only way she expressed her resentment was by withdrawing from him the commission of martial law, which he had so violently abused.

* The late John O’Nial (who was assassinated by the Scots), in the plenitude of his power, carried off the wife of Calvagh O’Donnel of Tyrconnel, by whom he had this son, who was called *Ne Gavelocke*, or the fettered, from the circumstance of his mother being in captivity at the time he was born.

In order to strengthen his interest among the Irish chieftains, he sent his son to be fostered by the sept of O'Cahan, and gave his daughter in marriage to young O'Donnel, who had escaped from confinement in the castle of Dublin. His treasonable designs being now more apparent, articles of impeachment were exhibited against him by Sir Henry Bagnal, a gentleman of great property in Ulster, whose sister he had seduced into marriage. These he also eluded by specious answers, and by interfering to save the lives of a sheriff and his attendants in Fermanagh, whose arbitrary conduct had excited Macguire to take up arms against them: The deputy now sent forces under Bagnal to oppose this chieftain, who was assisted by O'Donnel and some Scottish adventurers; and, in a battle in which the insurgents were defeated, Tyrone fought with such apparent zeal in the cause of government, that he was wounded in the thigh. Yet, at the very time he displayed such loyalty, he held a secret correspondence with the enemy, but did not wish to declare himself till the arrival of the troops from Spain, which he expected. However, he separated himself from the royal camp under pretence of being afraid of Bagnal; and sent his brother Cormac to O'Donnel's assistance, who declared he would consider him as an enemy if he delayed any longer to unite with his countrymen. Turlough Lin-nough, the head of the sept, having died at this time, Tyrone threw the sons of John O'Nial into prison, whose claim was superior to his, as his father was illegitimate, and then assumed himself the title of *the O'Nial*, which he had formerly recommended to be suppressed for the sake of the peace of the country. His excuse to administration for doing so was, that he took that title merely to prevent some other person less loyal than he from assuming it, but would resign it whenever a regular system of English polity should be established in his territories.

In the mean while, the war was openly carried on both in Ulster and Connaught by O'Donnel and his associates, who had less artifice than Tyrone. Some insurgents from the north, having burst into the latter, were defeated by Bingham, the president of the province, who pursued them, and took Enniskillen, the principal fortress of Macguire; but

Rebellion
of O'Don-
nel.

CHAP. on his return to his presidency, that post was invested by
VII. the forces of O'Donnel, who exerted himself with vigour and success. An English army, sent to its relief, he routed, put the garrison to the sword, which was obliged to surrender through famine, and having burst into Connaught, spreading desolation through the parts attached to government, destroyed a detachment sent to assist the garrison of Belleek, which was also obliged to surrender through famine, and was then butchered without mercy. Bingham, the president, though remarkable for his zeal and activity, had not forces sufficient to oppose him, so that he was in a manner complete master of Connaught, and established, in the plenitude of his power, one of his associates, a degenerate De Burgo, chieftain of his district, by the name of *the Mac-William*. Yet, with all his success, he was not considered as the most formidable enemy by the English government, which had instructed the deputy to try every secret method to detach him from Tyrone, who was suspected to be the hidden mover of the northern rebellion. However, they adopted a seemingly more effectual mode for suppressing it, by appointing sir John Norris, a distinguished leader, to the command of three thousand men destined for Ireland, of whom two thousand were veterans, and giving him authority to act independent of Sir William Russel, the successor of Fitzwilliam.

Of Tyrone. Soon after the arrival of this deputy, Tyrone suddenly appeared before him, lamented the wrongs he had sustained from the malicious insinuations of his enemies, and made the most ardent professions of his submission and loyal attachment to the queen. Russell, being assured of his treasonable designs, gave it as his opinion, that he should be taken into custody on suspicion, but could not prevail on the majority of the council to consent, at which the English ministry were very much offended. He was therefore dismissed to concert new mischief. Being informed of the appointment of Norris, and the measures prepared against him, he resolved to strike the first blow. Accordingly, he expelled the English garrison from the fort of Blackwater, and sent emissaries to Spain with pressing letters for immediate succours, yet, at the same time, renewed his insidious

offers of submission. Afterwards, he attacked the castle of Monaghan, and, when some forces came to its relief, he fought against them with great valour, particularly he distinguished himself in a single combat. One Sedgram, an English officer, having assailed him, threw him off his horse, but on his fall he pulled him along with him, and when his antagonist, who was over him, was preparing to dispatch him, he prevented the blow by stabbing him with a dagger.

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Elizabeth, who was eager to get rid of the Irish wars, offered proposals to the insurgents, in hopes to patch up some sort of an accommodation. With this intent she appointed commissioners to meet the Irish chiefs, who refused to have any communication with them, except in the open fields, not as submissive subjects, but as generals of equal rank in a parley. Tyrone, O'Donnel, and their associates, now stated their grievances, proposed the terms on which they would make peace, but rejected the offers made them by the queen, and consented to a truce of a few days. Yet, with all their insolence, when the deputy and Norris, collecting their forces, marched against them at the expiration of the truce, they were so terrified as to make their escape with all speed. Tyrone, in particular, deserting the fort of Blackwater, and burning Dungannon, where he lived, with the adjacent villages, retired into the woods. The deputy having left garrisons in Armagh and Monaghan, and a part of the army in this quarter under the command of Norris, returned to Dublin, declaring his intention of punishing some insurgents of Leinster, where, as at other places, the timidity of government encouraged the disaffected to insult their weakness. Tyrone, not being sufficiently prepared to renew hostilities, till the arrival of Spanish aid, which he eagerly expected, sent off again very pathetic letters both to the queen and Norris, lamenting the wretched condition to which he was reduced by injustice and cruelty, and expressing the most ardent wishes to return to peace and allegiance. His representations were so plausible as to interest Norris in his favour. Another congress was accordingly held at Dundalk, where Tyrone readily assented to the different articles demanded of him, particularly the renunciation of the title of *the O'Nial* for that of the earl of Tyrone. As

His feigned submission.

C H A P. to the enlargement of the sons of John O'Nial, he evaded
VII. it at present, by consenting that it should be referred to the
1596. queen's future pleasure, when made acquainted with their offences. Macguire, O'Donnel, O'Ruarc, and others of his confederates, having made like submission, received also a most gracious pardon. The northern war, of course, seemed now brought to a happy termination.

Duplicity
 continued.

Yet, on the arrival of three pinnaces from the king of Spain, with ammunition and magnificent promises of aid, the rebel chiefs resolved to engage again in hostilities. Tyrone, however, did not so openly declare himself, and, with his usual duplicity, sent the lord-deputy and council the letter the king of Spain had written to him, in order to persuade them of the sincerity of his submission. At the same time, he had the assurance of speedy invasion conveyed through Leinster and Munster, exhorting the disaffected to take up arms in defence of the true catholic religion of Jesus Christ. Insurrections had already broke out in Connaught, but they were suppressed by the united forces of the deputy and Norris. As an excuse for their offence, the insurgents alleged, that they had been intolerably oppressed by Sir Richard Bingham, the president, who hurried off to England to justify himself. There he was put in confinement, and being superseded by Sir Conyers Clifford, was sent a prisoner to Connaught, where he was tried and acquitted.

While such attention was paid to the complaints of the disaffected in that province, Tyrone also complained of the provocations he had received, and exhibited a list of the grievances he had endured. In revenge for these injuries, he then invested Armagh, and expelled the garrison; but, on the approach of Norris, renewed, with the most solemn protestations, his usual offers of submission. Commissioners were again appointed, with full powers of conferring pardon on the stipulated terms, but having gained some additional strength, he eluded the conference, though government had meanly solicited his compliance. Norris, indeed, had given too much encouragement to this mode of amicable conference, though experience should have taught him how little reliance was to be placed on the professions of this man.

It was expected by the English ministers, that one of his great military reputation should have gained some brilliant advantages in Ireland, but the nature of the service in which he was engaged, and the wants and difficulties under which he laboured, caused the disappointment. He was also duped, it appears, by the artifices of Tyrone, and the queen was highly offended at the ill success of the conferences which he had recommended. A new lord-deputy, lord Burgh, was sent over, of sufficient military talents, and Norris was abruptly ordered to his presidency of Munster, where he was so affected by his disgrace that in two months he died through vexation.

Lord Burgh, being resolved to proceed with rigour against Tyrone, was joined by the earl of Kildare, the baron of Trimbleston, and other lords of the pale, with their followers. He detached a son of lord Trimbleston with a thousand men, to oppose one Tirrel, a degenerate Englishman, sent by Tyrone with five hundred into Leinster, to encourage the rebellious septs to rise; but the skill of this insurgent made amends for his deficiency in numbers; he defeated the royalists, and sent their leader a prisoner to Tyrone. In another instance the deputy was also unsuccessful. Having ordered Sir Conyers Clifford to march his forces through Connaught, and meet him at the fort of Blackwater, this officer attempted to obey; but his body of seven hundred men was met by two thousand rebels, whom he was unable to engage. He was of course obliged to make a retreat, and conducted it with such skill as to regain his quarters without much loss, though harassed for thirty miles by the enemy. These partial disappointments, however, did not prevent the deputy, possessed of martial spirit and military skill, to continue his exertions. He marched boldly against Tyrone, who lay strongly entrenched near Armagh, and, after an obstinate engagement, forced the entrenchments, and put his army to flight; he pursued him, and took the fort of Blackwater, defeated the rebel forces again in a bloody encounter, and was preparing to attack them a third time in their defiles, between his army and Dungannon, the residence of Tyrone, to which he resolved to pierce, when he unfortunately died, leaving the command to Kildare. This

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VII. nobleman thought it prudent not to proceed farther, but to secure the ground already gained. However, he did not continue long in the command, having died soon after the deputy. His death was occasioned by excessive grief at the loss of his two foster brothers, who had fallen in a successful attempt to rescue him from the enemy.

A useless
conference. The civil administration of Ireland was now committed to Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor, and to Sir Robert Gardner, chief-justice; the military was committed to the earl of Ormond, under the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. Being obliged to continue in Leinster himself, on account of the disordered state of that province, he detached Sir Henry Bagnal to Ulster to keep the northerns in awe, and to support the garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater. Tyrone having lately experienced the superiority of the English forces, and, desirous of gaining time for a more favourable opportunity, had recourse to his usual mode of soliciting pardon, and offering the grievances he sustained for his justification. His humble proposal was again transmitted to the queen, and Ormond was of consequence ordered to hold a conference with him at Dundalk. Two meetings were accordingly held there for an accommodation. In the first, Ormond assented to an armistice of two months, in order to give the other chiefs time to transmit their complaints to the queen. In the second, the conditions of pardon were mentioned, but Tyrone, having gained some confidence, examined them scrupulously, and rejected the most material of them. He agreed indeed to a few, but with such exceptions and explanations as rendered them nugatory. Thus he dictated the terms on which he would accept of a pardon, and yet the queen, at the pressing intreaties of Ormond, granted him her gracious pardon under the great seal. This pardon, however, he treated with contempt; he neglected to proceed through the forms of law necessary to give it effect, and to reinstate him in the condition of a loyal subject. At the late conference he had demanded a cessation of arms, in hopes that the Spanish succours would arrive in the mean time, but could only obtain a truce for two months, which indeed was necessary, on account of the weak condition of the royal army. With

this he was well acquainted, and therefore resolved, after all his promises and treaties, immediately to commence hostilities again, before it recovered from its present feeble state.

He began by attempting to blockade Armagh, and for that purpose encamped between that town and Newry, where Bagnal was stationed, who relieved the garrison, by passing through an unfrequented road, and made a sudden attack on the enemy, which threw them into confusion, but was attended with no decisive advantage. Tyrone retiring, laid siege to the fort of Blackwater, which Bagnal, being reinforced with fresh troops, was ordered to relieve, and marching with an army of five thousand men, met his opponent near the fort with five thousand one hundred drawn up in order of battle. The superstitious Irish, assured by the priests from ancient prophecies that this day would prove fatal to heresy, were thus urged with phrenzy to the attack. Their assault was violent, and the dispositions of Bagnal not judicious; but the royalists, stood firm till an accidental explosion of gunpowder put them in confusion, which was increased by the death of their leader, who received a fatal shot in the forehead. Victory was now decided in favour of the northerns. The royal army lost fifteen hundred men, thirteen valiant officers, all its artillery, ammunition and provisions, with a quantity of arms. The remains of it fled to Armagh for shelter, which it was soon obliged to evacuate, the fort of Blackwater having previously surrendered.

The fame of Tyrone was now conspicuous; he was everywhere extolled as the deliverer of his country. The disaffected in all quarters declared in his favour. In Ulster, those who had hitherto hesitated now emulated each other in their eagerness to join his army. In Connaught the insurrection was general; the whole province rose up against the government. In Leinster, the chiefs of the Irish septs also took up arms, particularly O'Moore, who, having got possession of Leix, his ancient patrimony, pierced into Munster with some troops, to raise an insurrection there, in which he succeeded, after forcing Sir Thomas Norris, the lord president, to retire with his harassed army into Cork.

Defeat of
the royal-
ists.

Rebellion
extended.

CHAP. For the new plantations in this province, no adequate defence had been provided. Instead of two thousand men of English birth being furnished, according to the original plan; not more than two hundred could be found there, who fled from their dwellings in search of some place of safety, but could find none, and were destroyed by their vindictive enemies. The royal cause seemed now desperate. The friends of government having taken refuge in their fortifications, apprehensive either of the danger of assault, or the miseries of famine, abandoned the open country to the rebels, who indulged in the most licentious excesses, and committed the most atrocious acts of cruelty on the unfortunate victims of their fury. At this time of general dismay, intelligence was received through the king of Scotland, that Philip of Spain was making great preparations to invade both her majesty's kingdoms, and that twelve thousand men were particularly destined for the aid of the insurgents in Ireland.

Essex lord-lieutenant.

Elizabeth, being at length convinced of the futility of temporizing expedients, found it necessary, in order to preserve this country to the English crown, to send into it an experienced general with a large army. For this important command her favourite, Robert Devereux earl of Essex, by an indirect mode, recommended himself, and both his enemies and his friends were desirous of his appointment; the one, that he might return with augmented influence after success; the other, that after the impression he had made on the royal mind should be effaced by absence, his pride and intemperance would have their suitable effect on her majesty's imperious spirit; they also thought that his attempts against the Irish insurgents might be attended with ill success, which would sufficiently answer their purpose. Accordingly, he was sent into Ireland with the title of lord-lieutenant, accompanied by twenty thousand men, allowed authority to remove officers, confer dignities, and conduct the men at his discretion, and also furnished with the extraordinary power of pardoning every species of treason. Yet this great army caused no terror to Tyrone and his confederates, who resolved on a vigorous opposition; hence when Essex arrived in Dublin with all the pomp of a mili-

tary hero hastening to certain victory, he was assured that the forces of the rebels in the several provinces were more numerous than his, their bodies more hardy and robust, and that they were generally better trained to arms than the new levies.

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Previously to his appointment, he gave it as his opinion, that the new general should march directly against the northern rebels, and plant garrisons at the important posts of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon; yet, when he got the command himself, he did not act suitably to this opinion, though he had express instructions from her majesty to that effect. Induced by the advice of the Irish privy-council, many of whom were interested in the late plantations in Munster, and wished to have their properties there secured, he made his first expedition into that province. In his march, he was harassed by O'Moore, and after the reduction of a petty castle there, the only exploit worth notice, and the loss of many men, he returned to the capital. Here he was informed, that six hundred of the queen's troops, attacked by an inferior number of the sept of O Byrne, in Wicklow, being seized with a sudden panic, had been ignominiously defeated. Enraged at their pusillanimity, he cashiered their officers, executed a lieutenant, the chief delinquent, and decimated the unfortunate troops.

His mis-
conduct.

Before he left Munster, he sent her majesty a letter, stating the many difficulties of the present war, with expressions on that subject very different from those he had presumptuously made use of in England. After receiving a sharp rebuke from her majesty for his southern expedition, and an order immediately to proceed against Tyrone, he promised to obey; but soon after sent other letters, declaring, that he must suppress some commotions in Leinster before he proceeded to Ulster; and also that he could not venture to march thither without a reinforcement of two thousand men. Though her majesty was averse to it, yet at the instigation of his enemies, who wished to give him no excuse, those forces were ordered him. He then prepared for his northern expedition.

While he was to assail the main body of the rebels himself, he ordered Sir Conyers Clifford, lord president of Con-

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naught, to make a diversion towards Belleek. He obeyed, but in his march thither with fifteen hundred foot and two hundred cavalry, O'Ruarc, an Irish chieftain, lay in ambush for him in a difficult pass among mountains, made an attack on him there with only two hundred men, put his troops in confusion, killed a hundred and twenty, among whom was Clifford himself, and some other officers, and pursued their victory till they were driven by the cavalry into their woods. The English forces now retreated, and the Irish auxiliaries deserted them, being eager to join the triumphant standard of their countrymen. After writing some other letters to England on his present strength, Essex marched towards the borders of Ulster, with not quite four thousand men. There he perceived Tyrone at some distance, who, being desirous of wasting the royal army by delay, and eagerly waiting for Spanish aid, had recourse to his usual mode of deception, made most humble entreaties to Essex for a conference, and offered to throw himself on the royal mercy. At length he condescended to allow him an interview.

His interview with Tyrone.

By means of an officer in the royal army called Thomas Lee, an intimate of Tyrone, and a creature of Essex, a private conference was held between them at a small river in the county of Louth. The governor having stood in a stately manner on the bank, Tyrone, with affected obsequiousness, plunged his horse into the stream up to the saddle, and there held a long conversation with him. In this conversation it is supposed that Tyrone, by his insinuating manners, enticed Essex to discover to him some of his ambitious designs. Of these he had been suspected, and his conduct on his arrival in Ireland gave reason to strengthen these suspicions. He conferred promotions and honours in direct opposition to the queen's instructions, more for the increase of his own influence than for the public service, and even changed the plan of warfare to gratify individuals. His ambitious schemes, when discovered to Tyrone, that chieftain very naturally extolled, and assured him, that if he would take his directions he would be the greatest lord in England, which it is supposed he had consented to do; for soon after this conference, Tyrone told his followers that there would shortly

be new disorders in England, which would require his presence there. When they had discoursed a long time in private, a public parley was held in due form, in the presence of six persons on each side, in which Tyrone exhibited the grievances that had induced the northerns to take arms, and proposed the terms on which he would return to allegiance, a general amnesty, a free exercise of religion, the restoration of their lands, and an exemption from English government. These demands the governor promised to transmit to the queen with his recommendation, as being highly equitable and reasonable. It was now agreed, that, in the mean while, a truce should be made for six weeks, to be renewed from time to time for the same term, and that each party should have power to renew the war on giving fourteen days' notice.

Such an accommodation made with a faithless and insidious His fall. enemy, very naturally excited the resentment of the queen against her favourite. She wrote to the governor and council in terms of high indignation, which Essex attributed to the machinations of his enemies, and resolved, in the fury of his rage, to return to England with the flower of his army and take vengeance on them. From this violent resolution he was diverted by his intimate friend lord Southampton, and by Sir Christopher Blunt, who was married to his mother. In his uneasiness under the queen's resentment, he then resolved on another mode of proceeding, seemingly less dangerous. Soon after his arrival in Ireland he had obtained a warrant from her Majesty, empowering him at any time to delegate his authority to two lords justices, for whose conduct he should be accountable, and appear in her presence. Of this warrant he determined to take advantage, though the queen in her last letter had expressly directed him to attend to the affairs of his government. Accordingly, he repaired to London in a great hurry, rushed through the apartments to the queen's bedchamber, who had lately risen, and was dressing, fell down before her on his knees, and kissed her hand. Her majesty being thus taken by surprise, at first received him graciously, but, on recollection of his errors, soon changed her demeanour, ordered her council to examine him; and as the explanation of his conduct

CHAP. was not satisfactory, had him committed to the custody of
VII. the lord-keeper. The subsequent imprudent acts and unhappy death of this high spirited nobleman, with the dismal effect it produced on the queen herself, do not pertain to the present history.

Tyrone encouraged by the pope Soon after the return of Essex to England, don Matthew Oviedo, a Spanish ecclesiastic, on whom the pope had conferred the title of archbishop of Dublin, arrived from Spain with fresh supplies of ammunition to the northern Irish, and fresh assurances of their receiving a powerful reinforcement from that country. For O'Nial, the prince of Ulster, as he was called, he carried a very precious present from the supreme pontiff, an hallowed plume, which his holiness declared to be the feather of a phoenix. Elevated by this eminent distinction, Tyrone declared himself the champion of the holy faith, and renewed the war in full confidence of success. It being objected, however, that he had commenced before the stipulated time, he agreed to a truce of one month with the earl of Ormond, who had been again appointed lord-lieutenant of the army. In this interval he addressed a manifesto to all his countrymen, exhorting them to take up arms in defence of the catholic religion, which was so dear to his heart, that no private interest could induce him to abandon its cause, and assuring them, that no allegiance would be due to a sovereign deposed for heresy by the solemn excommunication of the supreme pontiff. This chieftain and his confederates also dispatched a letter to his holiness, whom they styled *the father of spirits upon earth*, acknowledging themselves his subjects, imploring the assistance of men and ammunition to defeat his enemies, and earnestly soliciting a supply of pious and learned pastors for their afflicted church. In return to this application his holiness thought it sufficient to publish a bull, granting to prince Hugh O'Nial, and his confederates, the same spiritual indulgences usually conferred on those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the holy land.

Mountjoy lord deputy At the time the troops under this powerful chieftain and his associates were considerably increased, their pride and confidence inflamed, and their cause favoured secretly by many who appeared well affected to the crown, when the total of

the royal forces, sickly and dispirited as they were, amounted only to fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred cavalry, which were to be distributed through every province of the island, at such a time was Charles Blunt, lord Mountjoy, appointed by the queen lord-deputy of Ireland. Previously to the nomination of Essex, he had been proposed to that office by her majesty, but it was objected to him by the favourite, that a person of his studious life was unfit for military command. It was not considered that the abilities of a general depend on the powers of intellect, which are improved by culture, and that Epaminondas, the illustrious commander of the Thebans, was a person exactly of that description. A similar opinion of his military talents was naturally entertained by the boisterous Irish, who mistook the refinement of his manners for effeminacy, and Tyrone exultingly observed of him that the queen had made choice of a general, who would *lose the time of action while his breakfast was a preparing*. Her majesty seems indeed herself to have been somewhat diffident in her choice of him, for her chief reliance was placed on the earl of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of the army, and Sir George Carew, lord-president of Munster.

In February 1600, Mountjoy entered Dublin without vain pomp or parade, having received the same instructions that Essex had unhappily neglected. When he was preparing, in compliance with these, to march immediately to the north, he was informed that Tyrone was in the western part of Munster with a considerable force, and proceeded to Mullingar to intercept him, by which place it was supposed he would be obliged to return on account of the other armies in his way; but after being amused with various reports, he at length got intelligence of that chieftain having effected his escape over the river Inny.

It was naturally suspected by him that some of the generals of the royal army had connived at his retreat; and his suspicion having fallen first on the earl of Clanricard, was soon after fixed on the earl of Ormond, who was taken prisoner in a very suspicious manner at a conference with O'Morre near Kilkenny, to which he had enticed Sir George Carew and the earl of Thomond, who effected their

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His attempt to intercept Tyrone.

Seizure of Ormond.

C H A P. escape with great difficulty. O'Moore made an offer to the
VII. deputy to liberate the prisoner on certain conditions, but
 his insolent proposals were rejected with silent contempt.

Energy and Mountjoy now proceeded to the operations he had plan-
success of ned, having first sent detachments to Dundalk, Ardee, Kells,
Mountjoy. Newry and Carlingford, to keep the northerns in awe, and reinforced the garrisons of Leix and Offally. When he had taken these necessary precautions he marched northward against Tyrone, in order to divert his attention from the movements of Sir Henry Dowkra in another quarter, and having found him entrenched between Newry and Armagh drove him from his entrenchments. In the mean while, Dowkra, according to his directions, landed at Loughfoyle with four thousand men, and fortified the city of Derry.

These successful operations tarnished the military fame of Tyrone, and had such an effect on the fickle Irish, that they deserted in great numbers to Dowkra, and several chiefs applied to the deputy for pardon and protection. Among these were Sir Arthur O'Nial, a son of Turlough Lynnhough and one of the O'Donnells, named Nial *Garruff*, or the *boisterous*.

While the exertions of the deputy in the north were attended with such success, he was recalled to Leinster by the insolence of the rebellious septs there; and having assailed Tirrel and O'Moore, he pursued them into their retreats in Leix, from which O'Moore made a bold attack on the English and was killed. Some time before this chieftain had consented to the release of the earl of Ormond for a large ransom, and had hostages given him for the payment of it, but the deputy got them delivered into his hands, on the promise of pardon and protection to the persons who had them in custody. The rebels, intimidated by the skill and vigour of his operations, fled before him every where into their fastnesses, whence they would sally out when they could get an opportunity. It was therefore thought requisite to have recourse to a shocking expedient to subdue them, which could only be justified by the absolute necessity of the case. It was resolved to destroy their means of subsistence, that hunger might oblige them to submit.

Accordingly, the English officers having issued out from their several stations with their soldiers, particularly Sir Arthur Chichester from Carrickfergus, and Sir Samuel Bagnal from Newry, cut down the standing corn with their swords, and spread ruin and desolation around them. Thus was a large extent of country laid waste, and the unfortunate inhabitants reduced to famine. Hence Tyrone with his dispirited army, apprehensive of want, shrunk gradually within narrower bounds. Again was he driven from his entrenchments by the deputy, and had his works demolished; and when he attempted to oppose the return of that officer by Carlingford, he was repulsed with great loss. His followers, with the prospect of misery before them, now deserted him even in greater numbers than usual, and entreated government for pardon and protection.

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His severe
expedient.

While Mountjoy thus carried on the war with energy and success, he was on the point of being interrupted in his progress by some alarming accounts from England. The unhappy earl of Essex, on his condemnation for high treason, among other persons of note, had mentioned the Irish deputy as being privy to his secret practices. This information, though very vague, had such an effect on Mountjoy that he actually made some preparations for a flight to France, being resolved, as he said, "not to put his neck under the file of the queen's attorney's tongue." But the services he had performed were sufficient to efface such slight suspicions of disloyalty, and her majesty wrote him a letter that gave him ample satisfaction.

His alarm.

On the removal of his apprehensions on this point, he proceeded against the insurgents in his usual mode. He constantly engaged them in petty actions, attacking them by surprise, and keeping them still on the alarm, which harassed them continually, and being always successful, he raised the spirits of his own soldiers. To those who submitted he scrupulously performed his promises, and thus not only encouraged them to forsake the rebels, but also to serve against them in the royal army. At the same time he took care to have these Irish soldiers particularly harassed with toil, and exposed to danger, which had the desired effect, and he boasted to the queen that he thus dimi-

His opera-
tions con-
tinued.

CHAP. nished the number of her secret enemies. However, he gave
VII. them every outward encouragement, and rewarded their
 leaders by especial favours when they deserved them by
 their fidelity. Yet the system of dividing the northern re-
 bels was not so agreeable to the English ministers, or deem-
 ed so effectual, as the devastations made by the several gar-
 risons, which destroyed their means of subsistence at home ;
 and another mode was adopted, though ruinous to many
 loyalists, which deprived them of all foreign supplies.

Base coin-
 age.

The annual expense of maintaining the Irish war having
 extended at length to four or five hundred thousand pounds,
 it was found that by the payment of the army in sterling
 money a considerable quantity by plunder or traffic fell into
 the hands of Tyrone and his confederates, who thus obtain-
 ed from the continent a regular supply of arms, ammunition
 and provisions, and were enabled to carry on the war against
 the queen with her own treasure. In order, to deprive them
 of this advantage, her majesty was induced, though with
 great reluctance, to send a base coin into Ireland, which
 was to pass for sterling money, prohibiting, at the same time,
 the importation and use of any other. Places of exchange
 were appointed by proclamation in England and Ireland,
 where the subjects of either kingdom might commute their
 coins, allowing the difference of a shilling a-pound. This
 scheme certainly tended to encrease the distresses of the re-
 bels, who could only get goods in foreign countries to the
 amount of the real value of the coin, but they were not the
 only sufferers ; the soldiers of the royal army very sensibly
 felt the effects of it, as traders raised excessively the articles
 they had for sale, when they found they were to get pay-
 ment in such base money. A mutiny was of course appre-
 hended, and to prevent it Mountjoy kept his troops ince-
 ssantly in motion, harassing Tyrone as usual with frequent
 skirmishes, and with such success, that both officers and men
 received thanks in the queen's name for their zeal and duty
 in her service. From his successful operations in the north,
 Mountjoy was soon after called to the south, which became
 the principal scene of military operations.

State of
 Munster.

Sir George Carew, the president of Munster, on entering
 on his office, found the whole of the army amounted only to

three thousand infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry, which were far inferior to the forces under the rebel chiefs collected against him, as appears by the following statement. Florence M'Arthy, who had been some time connected with government, but went over to Tyrone, from whom he obtained the title of M'Arthy More, had the command of three thousand men. James Fitzthomas, acknowledged by Tyrone as earl of Desmond, but denominated in derision by the Irish loyalists the Suggan earl, or the earl of Straw, was followed by great numbers who were attached to the title. Redmond de Burgh, and Dermot O'Connor, brought from Connaught five thousand mercenaries under their command.

Such a superior force Crew perceived he would be unable to oppose, if they were cordially united, and therefore endeavoured, by the diffusion of mutual jealousies, to spread disunion among the chiefs. From his post in Cork he watched every opportunity to effect this useful purpose, and would employ any instrument, however inferior, on such an occasion. One Nugent who deserted to the rebels, and returned afterwards in a repenting mood to his allegiance, was engaged by him as a purchase of his pardon, to assassinate John Fitzthomas, a brother of the Suggan earl. Being seized in the attempt, he declared at his execution, that many more were employed by the president on the same design. This declaration infused such terror into the two brothers that they dared not lodge together, or appear at the head of their troops. O'Connor, one of the chieftains of Connaught, induced by the suggestions of his wife, a sister to the real earl of Desmond, and also by the promise of a sum of money, seized the Suggan earl by stratagem and put him in a castle, with an intent to deliver him to Carew for the promised reward, but his brother John, and a leader named Pierce Lacy, collecting four thousand of their followers, rescued him from confinement. De Burgh, the other chieftain of Connaught, in the hope that the president would favour his claim for the lordship of Leitrim, deserted also the rebels with five hundred mercenaries.

Exertions
of Carew.

Carew having in some degree effected his purpose of dividing them by mutual suspicion, proceeded in his military

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operations. He took the fortress of a chieftain called the Knight of the Valley, who made a vigorous defence, and the castle of the lord of Lixnaw in Kerry, who died with grief on that account. In his progress he made shocking devastations, which caused many of the most desperate of the rebels, sincere champions of the apostolic faith, terrified with the prospect of desolation and famine, to solicit the holy father for absolution for the sin of submitting to a heretical government, and for leave to live under it in temporal obedience. His activity and success excited such general terror, that two thousand five hundred of the Connaught mercenaries, being determined to desert their confederates in Munster, solicited leave to return unmolested to their own country, which was granted with some difficulty. The troops of the Suggan earl were defeated and dispersed by the garrison of Kilmallock, which caused all his adherents to desert him, and M'Arthy More was obliged to keep quiet, and make at least a profession of allegiance. At this time no rebel force in Munster appeared in the field, and the queen gave the deputy liberty to pardon all that the president of that province should recommend to him, a few only excepted. Of this act of grace four thousand took the advantage, and the country was now reduced to such obedience, that sessions were held there, and justice administered with regularity.

The continuance of peace seemed also confirmed by another fortunate incident, the captivity of the Suggan earl.—After wandering from place to place, and skulking in many a wretched retreat, he at length took shelter in the lands of a chieftain styled the White Knight, who, having submitted to government, was ordered by them, under pain of forfeiture of life and fortune, to have him arrested. He was of course obliged to exert himself, and being directed by some of his followers to a cave, there found the hapless fugitive, who was disarmed without resistance, and sent bound to the president. It being deemed prudent to spare his life, he was sent to England, along with M'Arthy More, who was seized on the discovery of his being again concerned in treasonable practices.

Such was the situation of affairs in the southern province C H A P.
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when the Spanish invasion, so long desired and expected by the rebels, at length took place. The whole force consisted of about six thousand men, under the command of Don Juan D'Aquila, general of the expedition, who landed with the main body at Kinsale, in September 1601, while the rest were driven by a storm into the bay of Baltimore. Immediately they sent off expresses to Tyrone and O'Donnel to join their allies with all possible expedition, and were attended by Oviedo, the Spanish bishop of Dublin, and other ecclesiastics, who exhorted the native Irish, as faithful sons of the church, to unite with those who came to restore their lands and religion, and to rescue them from temporal and eternal perdition. Invasion
from Spain.

These exhortations were very suitable to the prejudices of the persons to whom they were addressed, but the advance of the deputy prevented them from having at first their due effect. Being apprised of the approach of the Spaniards, he proceeded to the south, and made such preparations as were in his power to resist them. With hardly six thousand men he marched against the invaders, besieged them in Kinsale, repelled their frequent sallies, assaulted and took the castle of Rincorran, situated on the river half a mile from the town. Thus continually was he advancing in his approaches, when intelligence was received that O'Donnel, with the Connaught and Leinster forces, was in full march to assist the Spaniards, and that he was followed by Tyrone with the flower of the northern army. Siege of
Kinsale.

In this extremity Mountjoy detached Carew with a part of the royal troops to intercept O'Donnel, and with the rest continued himself to carry on the siege. This service was undertaken contrary to the opinion of the president, who, however, obeyed the orders of his superior, and being unable to get any intelligence of the enemy in a country too well affected to their cause, they eluded all his efforts, and having passed rapidly over a frozen mountain, they pierced into Munster, and left him to return with a harassed army from a fruitless expedition. Vain at-
tempt of
Carew.

Unmoved by the disappointment, the deputy still carried on the siege, and being joined by three thousand men from Siege con-
tinued.

C H A P. England, with some troops under the earl of Clanricard
VII. and other loyal leaders, he took another fort, called Castle-
 park, in an island opposite to Rincorran. Having continu-
 ed his advances, he summoned the town to surrender, but
 received for answer, that it was held for Christ and the king
 of Spain, and would be maintained against all their enemies.

Fresh in-
 vasion.

Their confidence was soon after increased by the arrival
 of a new armament from Spain, of six vessels with two
 thousand men, who landed at Castlehaven, and brought in-
 telligence of several other armaments being prepared to
 follow. These vessels were attacked in Castlehaven by
 Admiral Leviston, who had carried two thousand troops to
 Cork, and some of them were destroyed; but a battery from
 the shore being directed against the admiral himself, did
 his vessels so much damage that he returned in a shattered
 condition to the harbour of Kinsale.

General in-
 surrection.

O'Donnel having joined these new invaders, and Tyrone,
 who had pierced into Munster, being near at hand, the dis-
 affected septs, who had before made a shew of submission,
 now cast off all disguise, and openly declared for the Span-
 iards. Hence a general insurrection took place in Desmond
 and Kerry, and in all parts to the west of Kinsale and Li-
 merick. Several castles were now delivered up by the Irish
 chieftains to the invaders, who put governors in them : and
 Spanish gold being scattered in abundance, the principals
 were honoured with commissions from the king of Spain, and
 their followers taken into pay, being supplied with arms and
 ammunition from the vessels that last arrived.

Danger of
 Mountjoy.

The situation of the deputy was now very critical. The Spa-
 niards, with the troops under O'Donnel, and the forces under
 Tyrone, having formed a blockade around his army, pre-
 vented him from getting provisions on the side of the land,
 while the supplies he received by sea were slow and ineffi-
 cient. Hence many of his men, weakened by hunger, and
 harassed with the cold of a winter siege, fell down dead on
 their posts, and many more deserted. This little army then,
 on whom the fate of Ireland depended, must of course
 have been destroyed, had their enemy maintained their pre-
 sent position. Tyrone had resolved to do so; but being
 urged by Aquila, who said that one attack was only neces-

sary for an easy victory, and by some of his Irish associates, of whose disobedience he was apprehensive, he reluctantly advanced against the English army. C H A P.
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Mountjoy, leaving Carew to carry on the siege, and judging it unsafe to await the assault of the enemy on his camp, marched out against them with only twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse. Surprised at this unexpected movement, and alarmed at the masterly disposition of his forces, the confederate Irish, who only thought of disposing of the prisoners they would take, retired in dismay at his approach. Being pursued they halted, and offered battle; on which the earl of Clauricard, and Wingfield, marshal of the army, made a furious attack on their cavalry, composed of Irish chieftains, and put them to flight. The vanguard, led by Tyrrel, made some resistance, but was soon obliged to give way, and abandoned the Spaniards of Castlehaven, who fell bravely in the field, except a few, who, with their general Ocampo, were taken prisoners. The main body commanded by Tyrone was discomfited with equal ease, and the rear, of which O'Donnel was the leader, fled without striking a blow. In this rout, as it may be called, twelve hundred of the enemy were slain, and eight hundred wounded, with the loss, on the side of the English, of only one cornet slain and a few soldiers wounded. O'Donnel, in despair, took refuge in Spain, and Tyrone in Ulster, deserted by most of his followers, and stung with the anguish of disgrace and disappointment.

His victory
at Kinsale.
November
24 1601.

Don Aquila, who had obliged the Irish troops to leave their advantageous situation, and engage the enemy in the open field, for which of all others they were the least qualified, could not conceive they would be so easily defeated, and hearing from Kinsale the volleys discharged by the English army in honour of their victory, mistook them for signals of the approach of his Irish allies, and made a desperate sally from the town. But when he saw the Spanish colours in possession of the English, he retired, and in a rage against the confederates who had suffered themselves to be so shamefully subdued, made a proposal of a surrender. Very honourable terms were most prudently granted to this high-spirited Spaniard, who would have indignantly rejected any other, and whose notions were so romantic, that, on receiv-

Surrender
of the
Spaniards.

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ing the first summons from the deputy, he challenged him to single combat for daring to offer him such an affront. By the articles of capitulation all fortresses held in Ireland by Spanish troops were to be evacuated, but when they were preparing to leave the strong fort of Dunboy at Berehaven, it was surprised by its ancient possessor, Daniel O'Sullivan, an Irish chief, who disarmed the Spanish garrison, and seizing their ordinance and stores, resolved to defend it against the English. Don Juan, whose punctilious honour was offended at this outrage, offered his services for the reduction of the fort before his departure, which was politely refused, and the place was at length stormed by Carew, after a most desperate defence.

Rebellion
suppressed
in Mun-
ster.

By the expectation of another Spanish invasion, which was industriously circulated, and the factious exhortations of several Romish ecclesiastics, especially Owen MacEggar, the pope's apostolic vicar, the flame of rebellion still blazed in Munster with great violence. These furious churchmen; not only denounced their excommunication against all those who took up arms in defence of heresy, but even against those who spared the prisoners of that odious description. Hence the captive loyalists were butchered as heretics, while the insurgents taken were hanged as traitors. Soon, however, the judicious dispositions of Carew confounded the rebels. Seizing their forts, ravaging their lands, distressing them with famine, harassing them with perpetual alarms, he compelled them either to throw themselves on the mercy of government, or take refuge in other parts of Ireland. One leader after another was either banished, reduced, or slain, the province was at length brought to a state of composure, and the wretched inhabitants had leisure to reflect on their calamities.

Tyrone ha-
rassed in
Ulster.

In a similar mode of warfare did Mountjoy proceed against Tyrone and his adherents in Ulster. This chieftain he pursued so closely that he obliged him again to burn Dunganon, and by having erected the fortresses of Charlemont and Mountjoy at a suitable distance from the town, he excluded him from his own territories. His own forces he disposed in such a manner as to be able to prevent any hostile attempt, and to collect them easily on any sudden

emergency. Besides, by stationing them in the vicinity of the Irish, he prevented these wretched people from getting the means of subsistence. Hence thousands of them died of famine, whose unburied carcases were strewed over every road and district, while others had recourse to such hideous expedients to appease the rage of hunger, as would be too shocking to relate. Tyrone himself was unable to afford them any relief. In the present feeble state of his authority, the two sons of John O'Nial, whom he had so long detained in prison, effected their escape to the deputy. Daily, indeed, was he deserted by some of his followers, and among others by Roderic O'Donnell, the new chieftain of Tyrconnel, brother of Hugh the fugitive, who renounced his alliance and obtained the protection of Mountjoy.

In this state of humiliation, Tyrone sued with sincerity for pardon. His application was, of course, notified to the queen by the deputy, but the contradictory instructions received from her majesty, which showed the distracted state of her mind at the close of her life, rendered him at a loss how to act. At length he received a private account of her death, and instantly sent off Sir William Godolphin with a safe conduct to Tyrone, pressing him to surrender his person without delay, if he wished to prevent his utter ruin, especially as he had now authority to grant him favourable terms, which, if not at this time accepted, might never again be attained. This urgent proposal had the desired effect. Immediately he waited on the deputy at Mellifont, and falling down on his knees humbly implored forgiveness. Different conditions were now imposed on him, particularly that he should renounce the name and authority of O'Nial, all connexion with foreigners, all claim to any possessions not bestowed on him by the queen; and having subscribed these, he received pardon for himself and his followers, and the promise of a new patent for all his lands, except a few small portions reserved for useful purposes.

When this essential business was completed, he accompanied the lord-deputy to Dublin, and being informed there of Elizabeth's death he burst into tears, through affection, he said, for a deceased princess who had treated him with such clemency, but in reality on account of his too precipi-

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1603.
His real
submis-
sion.

His sorrow
at the death
of Eliza-
beth.

C H A P. VII. tate submission. This submission, however, he could not recall, and renewed it with solemnity to her successor.

Reflections. Thus, by the surrender of this chieftain, were all the enemies of the English government subdued in Ireland, which was left for Elizabeth to accomplish, after a perpetual contest of four hundred and forty years. This wise princess, who was at first prevented by her engagement in continental politics from attending to this island, at length perceived her mistake, and then exerted herself with an energy suitable to the importance of the occasion. Her success was in a great degree owing to her prudent choice of Mountjoy and Carew to the principal command of her armies, for she possessed, when not seduced by favourites, remarkable discernment in discovering the most proper persons for every public employment.*

The misconduct of the Spanish court also contributed some share to her success, by delaying the invasion too long, and by directing their troops to land in Munster, a province then reduced to subjection, and far distant from the northern armies, and also by their chusing such a commander as Aquila, whose rashness prevented the united forces from taking advantage of their excellent situation, by which they could have effectually subdued their English enemies without any danger to themselves. Yet, though the success was complete, the war was enormously expensive,† and peculiarly destructive to the English soldiers, not only by the sword, but by the humidity of the air being injurious to their constitutions, occasioned by the scantiness of cultivated land, and the abundance of woods and marshes. From famine indeed, and pestilence, its concomitant, they did not suffer so much as the wretched Irish, whose distresses, as well as the desolation of the country, have been already exhibited, and show the dismal effects of civil war.

* Statesmen and warriors then illustrious shone:
Yet all derived their splendor from the throne;
Their various merits, and the public voice,
Show'd the discernment of her prudent choice
The public weal was still her only pride,
And still on this were all her thoughts employ'd.

† It cost three millions and a half in the last ten years.

To their unhappy insurrections, they were particularly excited by the pernicious exhortations of emissaries from Rome and Spain, especially the monks and others of the regular clergy. The secular clergy, it must be owned, were moderate, and frequently inculcated obedience to the civil authority, but, as too often happens, the worst advice was the most regarded. For such violent abhorrence of an heretical government, there certainly was not given sufficient provocation. The Irish administration conducted themselves with great mildness in religious matters, and though laws were enacted against persons termed *recusants*, who refused to conform to the protestant rites, or take the oath of supremacy, yet they were seldom or never executed with severity.* Such moderation was unusual at the time of a general desertion of established errors, when a zeal for religious truth has urged even moral men to commit acts of violence.

* Tyrone himself acknowledges this in his manifesto, observing, that there was "a mitigation made in favour of catholics."

CHAPTER VIII.

Opposition to James—Overcome by Mountjoy—His return to England—Useful plans of Chichester—Interrupted by religious zealots—Endeavours to reclaim them—Flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel—Attempt of O'Dogherty—Plantation of Ulster—Discontent of recusants—First national parliament—Violent altercations—Appeal of recusants—Subsequent moderation—A convocation—New plantations—Administration of Saint John—Offensive to opposite parties—Presumption of recusants—Abuses civil—Military—Schemes of James advantageous on the whole—Some regulations prevented by his death.

CHAP. VIII. **THE** pacific talents possessed by James, the successor of the great Elizabeth, rendered him peculiarly fitted for the business devolved on him, the establishment of the English polity in Ireland, and the introduction of such institutions as would tend to reduce the rude inhabitants to civilization and order. In the accomplishment of this useful work he met with great obstructions from the fury of popish instigators, who were very unwilling to proclaim him, and, according as it answered their purposes, would, in some places, say he was a catholic, and in others, that he could not be a lawful king, as he was not established by the authority of the pope, and had not sworn to defend the catholic religion.

Overcome by Mountjoy. Seduced by such pestilent insinuations, the inhabitants of several cities of Leinster, and of most in Munster, in defiance of penal statutes, proceeded to restore the Romish worship in all its pristine splendor. Ejecting the reformed ministers from their churches, and seizing the religious houses, which had been converted to civil uses, they erected their crosses, celebrated their masses publicly and pompously, and exhibited ecclesiastics marching in procession, clothed in the habits of their respective orders. To suppress these disturbers of the public peace, Mountjoy march-

ed into Munster at the head of the royal army. When he arrived at Waterford he found the gates shut against him, and, demanding admission, was informed by the citizens, that, by the charter of John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. Two ecclesiastics now presented themselves before him in his camp, clothed in the habit of their order, and told him plainly, that the citizens of Waterford could not obey any prince who persecuted the catholic faith, in defence of which they quoted a passage from Saint Austin ; but the deputy, having the work of that father in his tent, proved, to the satisfaction of every one present, that they had quoted the author unfairly, which somewhat confounded them. Having foiled these churchmen with their own weapons, he told the citizens that he would *cut the charter of John in pieces with the sword of James*, demolish their city, and strew it with salt. Terrified by these threats, they admitted him, and swore allegiance, as did also Cashel, Clonmel, and other cities. Cork, which was the most refractory and had been some time blockaded by the royal force, immediately on his appearance opened its gates. A few of the inferior agitators he executed by martial law, and delivered Mead, the recorder, a violent incendiary, to be tried by the civil jurisdiction, but he was acquitted by the barefaced partiality of his jury.

After suppressing these mutinous attempts to resist the established authority, he published an act of *oblivion and indemnity*, to quiet the apprehensions of all those concerned in the late rebellion, and, by the same authority, took into the immediate protection of the crown the whole body of the Irish peasantry, who had been usually abandoned to the tyranny of their chieftains. Having thus completed his administration, he was created lord-lieutenant, and appointing Sir George Carew his deputy, returned to England, accompanied by earl Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnel, who met a favourable reception at the English court. The latter was created earl of Tyrconnel, the former confirmed in his honours and possessions ; but he was so odious to the populace, on account of the number of friends they had lost in the rebellion, that he could not travel in safety without a strong escort.

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Useful plans
of Chiches-
ter.

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During the short administration of Carew, sheriffs were sent into the counties of Tyrconnel and Tyrone, and itinerant judges continued their course through the whole northern province. His successor, sir Arthur Chichester, established sessions of justice in the province of Connaught, and restored the circuit of Munster, after a cessation of two hundred years. The native Irish, being now admitted to all the privileges of English subjects, began to have a favourable regard for this system of English policy, and gradually to perceive, that, when impartially administered, it was quite superior to that mockery of justice, with which they had been too often insulted. Another measure was adopted useful both for securing their property, and establishing the peace of the country. *A commission of grace* was appointed under the great seal of England empowering the chief governor to accept the surrender of estates held by the old precarious tenure, and grant them anew according to the English mode, which afforded more security. Hence a general revolution was effected in the rights of tenure, yet great attention was paid to the just claims of the several persons concerned. Accordingly a new patent was made out for every estate, by which each lord was invested only with the lands found to be in his immediate possession, and his followers confirmed in their properties, on condition of their paying him a yearly rent, equal to the value at which the uncertain dues were estimated, that were exacted from them by the old Irish customs.

Interrupt-
ed by reli-
gious zea-
lots.

While a favourable prospect appeared of the advantages to be derived from these schemes of political reformation, they were unhappily interrupted in their progress by the spirit of religious bigotry. The furious zealots of the catholic clergy, declaring openly the king's affection for their religion, for which he had afforded some pretence, denounced the vengeance of Heaven on all who should attend heretical worship, ordered the religious houses to be refitted for the exercise of their peculiar rites, arraigned the civil administration, reviewed causes determined in the king's court, and even enjoined the people, under pain of eternal damnation, to obey their decisions, not those of the civil law. Such conduct afforded just cause of apprehension to James, who,

though possessed with some tenderness for the *mother church*, as he called it, yet abhorred the authority assumed by the pope over princes, and the principle claimed by ecclesiastics of being superior to the law of the state. He therefore issued a proclamation similar to the one in England, commanding all the popish clergy in Ireland to leave the kingdom within a limited time. Though it was intended that this ordinance should be executed here with the same lenity as in England, yet the recusants expressed great resentment, and acted with such insolence, that it was found necessary to revive those statutes that were so wantonly insulted. Accordingly the magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin were enjoined to repair to the established churches, and, on their obstinate disobedience, were fined and committed to prison. This chastisement put all the old families of the pale in commotion; instantly they presented a petition and remonstrance against such severities. An unusual concourse attending the council with this petition, on the very day the account arrived from England of the gun-powder plot, caused a suspicion that the catholics here acted in concert with the conspirators in England. Their principal petitioners were therefore taken and confined in the castle, and Sir Patrick Barnewell, their chief agent, by order of the king, was sent prisoner to London.

After this slight check afforded to their insolence, no further severities were exercised against recusants, whom the deputy had orders to reclaim by the gentle method of instruction and argument. Accordingly, he had the Bible and Common prayer translated into the Irish language, and enjoined the established clergy to pay a strict attention to their duty. However, the inveteracy of the catholics to the protestant religion, which this new mode had but little effect in removing, and the influence of their active emissaries, who had raised such disturbance in the late reign, still excited apprehensions and suspicions.

In the present disposition of the Irish, every rumour of insurrection was received with attention by the government. By a letter dropt in the privy council-chamber, intimation was given of a scheme of rebellion, formed by the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with some other northern chiefs,

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Endea-
vours to re-
claim
them.

Flight of
Tyrone and
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Attempt of
O'Dogherty.

who were to begin the insurrection by surprising the castle, and assassinating the lord-deputy and council. Immediately on hearing the discovery, these lords made their escape to the continen, abandoning their vast estates to the crown, and some of their supposed accomplices, being tried by a jury, were found guilty, and executed. As the flight of these chieftains might be ascribed to religious persecution, a proclamation was issued, setting forth their design of destroying all his majesty's subjects, of English descent, in this country ; and declaring, that they had received no molestation on account of their mode of faith and worship, as it would be unreasonable to give any trouble on that account to persons whose manners and conduct made it doubtful whether or no they had any religion at all.

The flight of the two capital conspirators no doubt prevented an extended insurrection from taking place, yet one of the supposed accomplices, Sir Caher O'Dogherty, proprietor of Innish-owen, made an attempt at rebellion. Having got admittance, by artifice, for himself and his adherents into the fort of Culmore, near Derry, he put the whole garrison to the sword, and, proceeding to Derry, executed the same cruelty on the garrison there. He also burned the town, having first plundered it of every thing valuable, and then hastened to make an attack on other parts ; but at the approach of Wingfield, marshal of the army, he retired into his woods. Elated, however, by some petty success, he ventured to come out to oppose the lord-deputy, who had marched to Wingfield's aid, but happily an accidental shot put an end to his life, and the insurrection he had raised, which had continued for five months.

Plantation
of Ulster.

These repeated efforts of the native Irish to harass the English government tended ultimately to their own disadvantage. By their conspiracies and rebellions, tracts of land, containing five hundred thousand acres, or eight hundred thousand of English measure, were forfeited to the crown in the six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanah, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, and Tyrconnel, now called Donegal. These dismal tracts, desolated by war and famine, and covered with woods, which afforded secure shelter for robbers in their pre-

sent wretched state, required the healing hand of James, who affected to derive credit from the cultivation of the pacific arts. C H A P.
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With all his weaknesses, he fortunately possessed talents of this useful kind, and, in establishing colonies in Ireland, exerted himself with a zeal and ability that reflects eternal honour on his memory. Being well acquainted with the errors that attended the plantations of Munster in the preceding reign, he endeavoured to avoid them, and of course to prevent the miscarriages that they occasioned. He therefore proceeded with great caution in this difficult business, and being resolved not to rely entirely on himself, took advice from every one that could give it to him, but derived particular benefit from the capacity and experience of Sir Arthur Chichester, now lord-deputy.

The confiscated lands were distributed among persons divided into three distinct classes, who were distinguished by the names of undertakers, servitors, and old natives. The first were born in England or Scotland, and were allowed only to take such for their tenants; the second were persons who had served some time in Ireland, either in a military or civil capacity, and were allowed to take any other for their tenants except recusants; the third, being at more liberty in these points, were allowed to take for tenants those both of their own religion and country; and, as an inducement for them to become loyal, were even exempted from the oath of supremacy. The first had the strongest situations assigned them; the second those of most danger, and therefore were allowed guards and entertainment until the settlements were completed; the third, contrary to the former mode, were planted in the open country, where they might be more easily watched by their neighbours, and might be improved by the exercise of agriculture and other useful arts.

The lands appointed for distribution were divided into portions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand English acres, which were assigned to the different undertakers by lot. These were bound to the performance of a variety of stipulations tending to the improvement of the country, and the civilization of the natives, among which was one to set their lands at determined rents on leases for

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three lives, or twenty one years at least. From these lands a small yearly rent was reserved for the crown, of which the British undertakers paid the least, and the old natives the most. The corporation of the city of London accepted of a large grant of them in the county of Derry, which was now called Londonderry, and engaged to lay out twenty thousand pounds in rebuilding the city of Derry, and erecting the town of Colerain.

Considerable portions of lands were now claimed by the established clergy, who supposed themselves entitled to all the property possessed by the clergy of the catholic religion. Hence ecclesiastical lords were restored to their respective sees and churches, and the impropriate tithes possessed by bishops were resigned by these to the incumbents of the several parishes, for which they received an ample recompense from the crown lands. Beside the tithes, glebes were assigned to the incumbents, and in order to provide for a succession of suitable pastors, free schools were endowed in the principal towns. On the university of Dublin large grants of lands were conferred, together with the advowson of six parishes, being one for every county.

Such was the scheme of this northern plantation, of which the happy effects were soon perceived, though the execution of it did not correspond with the original idea. The terms of the engagement were not, in many instances, fulfilled by the undertakers, who admitted the original Irish as tenants into districts where only British colonists should have been introduced. For this defect, productive of fatal consequences in future times, the corporation of London were above all others remarkable, which was owing to their entrusting their business to agents, who were indolent and corrupt. However, many loyal and industrious inhabitants were now dispersed through the northern counties, considerable improvements were made by the planters, and several towns erected. Of these, some being incorporated by the king, obtained a right to return members to parliament.

Discontent
of recu-
sants.

The recusants were allowed by law to sit in this public assembly, though they were usually excluded from places of trust under government, and from practising as lawyers,

by their refusal to take the oath of supremacy. In many instances, however, they were excused from this qualification, and hence were tacitly allowed to act as magistrates and practise at the bar. From fines for not attending the established mode of worship, they had also little reason to complain, as they were not levied in any part of the kingdom, except in a very slight manner in the county of Dublin. Yet the persons of rank and fortune among them, particularly the lords of the pale, were not satisfied with this bare connivance, and considered the legal disqualifications to which they were subject as a serious grievance. From the animosity of their opponents (for mutual rancour seemed to prevail among both parties), they were apprehensive of some more severe statutes being passed against them in the ensuing parliament, which by proclamation was soon to convene.

For twenty-seven years of civil war and tumult, no such assembly had been held in Ireland. Since the last meeting of this sort, the right of representation had been very much extended; seventeen new counties and a number of boroughs had been formed. The additional members, particularly the representatives of the boroughs, which had been established by the crown, the recusants apprehended would be hostile to them. A petition was therefore presented to the king, signed by the following principal lords of the English pale: Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany and Louth, praying that the creation of boroughs should be suspended until time and traffic should render them fit to be represented, and among other objects of concern, expressing their dread of an intention to pass some more laws against the catholics, since no communication on that subject had been afforded to the nobility of that communion. The petition was pronounced by the king to be rash and insolent; yet this rebuke did not prevent the English of the pale from using every exertion, both by themselves and their agents, to get a majority of catholics returned to the new parliament.

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This was indeed a very important assembly, being the first national parliament held in Ireland, containing representatives from every part of the kingdom. To gain a ma-

First national parliament.

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jority in such an assembly was certainly well worthy of all the exertions made use of by the lords of the pale; but in this point their exertions were not attended with success. In the house of commons there were a hundred and twenty-five protestants, and only one hundred and one recusants, six members being absent; and in the house of lords, on account of the twenty bishops, the majority was still greater.

Violent altercations.

The meeting of the commons was very tumultuous; in the choice of a speaker there was a violent contention between the two parties. Sir John Davies, the attorney-general, was proposed by the friends of government; Sir John Everard, late a judge of the king's bench, by the recusants. Davies was of course chosen by the majority, but the minority insisted that they had the majority of legal votes, and when their opponents were in the lobby, took Everard and placed him in the chair; the majority on their return endeavoured to pull him out of it by force, but when they could not succeed, they put Davies in his lap. This scene of confusion was concluded by the secession of the recusants, both commons and lords, and a short prorogation of parliament by the deputy, who had confirmed Davies in the office of speaker.

Appeal of recusants.

The recusants now thought fit to send over agents to lay their grievances before the king, for whose expenses a large contribution was levied. The lords Gormanstown and Fermoy, Sir James Gough, Hussey, Lutterel and Talbot, all zealous partisans, were chosen for this purpose. At first their mission seemed somewhat inauspicious, for soon after their arrival in London, Talbot and Lutterel, for some insolent conduct, were committed to prison. However, James listened to their complaints with great temper, which encouraged them to extend their list of grievances to nineteen articles. Gough, having returned to Ireland, asserted, that the king had promised the catholics the free exercise of their religion, which he inferred from some favourable expressions of his majesty; but Chichester declared the news to be false and seditious, and committed the author of it to the castle. The king, being desirous of gaining every information on that subject of dispute, sent commissioners over to Ireland for that purpose, and summoned Chichester to attend him in England. From these he derived a complete know-

ledge of the affair, and when he was fully prepared, admitted the recusants to plead their cause before the council. Here the whole business met with a patient and deliberate discussion, and after repeated examinations their complaints were pronounced to be groundless, except in the instances of the burgesses from Kildare and Cavan, whose return were declared to be illegal, as these boroughs had not been erected till after the writs were issued. In declaring his sentiments on this occasion, the king, according to his usual mode, made a tedious and verbose oration, extolling his own equity, and expressing his disapprobation of the disorderly behaviour of the recusants, whom he advised to regain his favour by their dutiful conduct in parliament.

This assembly having at length met, after repeated pro- 1614.
rogations, seemed rather in a better humour than before, the violence of party being somewhat abated by the judicious management of the deputy, and the prudence of some temperate recusants. Among these Everard himself was most conspicuous; he was a man of a respectable character, and though he was removed from his office as judge of the king's bench, for declining to take the oaths of qualification, it was judged proper to indulge him with a pension. His conduct at this time showed that the favour he had received was very judiciously bestowed. He recommended to his friends, over whom he had great influence, to concur in such measures as the interest of the nation, and the honour of the crown required, that they might merit by their dutiful conduct whatever indulgence they sought. He himself proposed a bill of attainder, which passed unanimously, against the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Sir Caher O'Dogherty, and others concerned in treasonable designs. In compliance with the royal edict, an act of general amnesty and pardon was made, and another for taking the old natives under the protection of the law, according to his majesty's desire, and abolishing all odious distinctions between men of different lineage inhabiting the same kingdom. Such instances of good temper being exhibited by the house, the session was closed by a very munificent bill of subsidy, granting to the king, his heirs and successors, from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards,

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Subse-
quent mo-
deration.

C H A P. VIII. two shillings and eight pence in the pound, from aliens twice that sum, and from every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards, four shillings in the pound. This bountiful grant, which amounted to an exorbitant tax, was, as may be supposed, very gratifying to his majesty, who wrote a letter to Chichester on the occasion, expressive of his thanks to the commons for their munificence, which had cancelled from his memory the displeasure that their former conduct might have occasioned. Of this munificence the recusants took the chief merit to themselves; but as they solicited some relaxation of penal laws, which it was not deemed proper to grant, and as the turbulence, which prevailed at the beginning of the session, showed the temper of the commons to be somewhat disorderly, the parliament was dissolved much sooner than expected.

A convoca-
tion.

At the same time it was sitting, a convocation of the clergy was also held in Dublin, chiefly for the purpose of framing a confession of faith for the established church of Ireland. This important office was assigned to doctor James Usher, a man of eminent learning and abilities, but of high Calvinistic principles, with which his composition was strongly tinged. His formulary amounted to a hundred and four articles, consisting of several minute decisions, and laboured expositions of obscure doctrines. In some instances, it was directly contrary to the sentiments of the king, particularly in that article, which declared that the Lord's day was to be *wholly* dedicated to the service of God. It was, however, approved by the convention, and ratified by the deputy. The king, too, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious sentiments, and attempts made to prejudice his majesty against him, paid a suitable respect to his piety and learning by promoting him to the see of Meath.

New plan-
tations.

The exertions of this monarch to introduce civilized inhabitants into the north of Ireland gave great disgust to some of the old natives there, who despised the new settlers, as they could not claim the honour of being descended from Irish princes, and formed a rude scheme to destroy them; but their designs were discovered, and the principals of the conspiracy punished. This puny attempt, however, did not prevent the king from endeavouring to execute similar projects in other parts of the island. Sixty-six thou-

sand acres, between the rivers Avoca and Slaney, being adjudged to the crown, sixteen thousand five hundred of these were laid out for an English colony, and the rest for the natives, on terms the same as in Ulster. In like manner, three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres, in the King's and Queen's counties, and in the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, were appointed for distribution. These were mostly granted to the natives by a permanent tenure, which tended to reconcile many of them to this new scheme of plantation; but before the arrangement was completed a new governor was appointed, Sir Oliver Saint-John, in place of Chichester, who was created baron of Belfast.

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1616.

The administration of this governor excited great clamour even among those who were hostile to each other. Urged by his zeal against popery, which he had already displayed in parliament, he issued a proclamation commanding the regular clergy of the catholic church to leave the kingdom. This seemingly severe injunction was in reality an act of indulgence to the poorer orders of that communion, who were oppressed by this useless tribe. He also required all the officers of justice to take the oath of supremacy, which was very galling to the citizens of Waterford, who had obstinately persisted to chuse a succession of recusants for their chief magistrates. As they, of course, refused to take the oath, he issued a commission to seize the liberties and revenues of the city. This rigour afforded a pretence to the zealous partisans of Rome, in foreign countries, to charge him with many acts of severity which he never committed.

Adminis-
tration of
Saint John.

Beside the recusants, he made enemies to himself of a different complexion. Some members of the state having seized the church lands, and intending to keep possession of them by means of their great influence, he had the boldness to oppose their usurpation through mere pity for the distressed circumstances of the clergy. This attempt to deprive the courtiers of their unjust gain, excited their indignation, and induced them to join the popish party in censuring his conduct. Assailed from every quarter, and traduced to his sovereign, he was at length obliged to resign. But the king, having a just sense of his real merit,

C H A P. VIII. conferred on him titles of nobility for both kingdoms, and appointed him lord-treasurer of Ireland.

**Presump-
tion of re-
cusants.**

The removal of Saint-John was very grateful to the recusants, who considered it as a sort of censure against him for his severity towards them. Hence they entertained hopes of greater indulgence, and depending on their supposed influence with government, on their union, their power, and property, began to assume high authority. They openly erected abbies, and even seized churches for their own worship. Government now began to be alarmed at their insolence, “ especially when they discovered that a Romish hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices, and persons, was established through the kingdom by the papal power ; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the sovereign pontiff were in actual possession of the realm.” It was naturally supposed, that persons so sincerely attached to their spiritual ruler were certainly discontented with a protestant government, especially at a time when religious opinions had such influence on men’s conduct.

**Abuses,
civil.**

Yet there were other causes of discontent of a more substantial kind. In the scheme of plantation, however useful on the whole, many abuses were practised ; and, by the iniquity of the commissioners appointed to distribute lands, the natives were frequently deprived of those possessions reserved for them by command of the king ; besides, a set of men termed *discoverers*, who obtained commissions of inquiry into defective titles, were guilty of similar, or even greater acts of injustice ; and the king himself gave great offence by his boundless prodigality to favourites, for which he was always remarkable. On Sir Arthur Chichester alone he conferred the whole territory of Innishowen, formerly possessed by O’Dogherty. His government also was in many instances extremely oppressive ; the privy council assumed a right of determining causes, which should have been submitted to courts of law, and exercised great severities in the castle chamber on witnesses and jurors, whose evidences or verdicts were disagreeable to the state.

These grievances were augmented by the oppressions of the soldiers, who were obliged, for want of pay, to levy their subsistence of the people. Yet, though they found it necessary to have recourse to that odious method to obtain support, there was at that time a very inadequate military force in the country,* and the finances of James prevented him from attending to the frequent remonstrances of Faulkland, the deputy, for an increase.

Though the military force was so ineffectual, and the causes of irritation so numerous, no insurrection was at this time attempted, which clearly proves, that the island was completely conquered by Elizabeth, and also, notwithstanding their abuses, that there was much merit in the regulations of James. The new colonists from Britain, who were of course loyal, formed a sort of barrier against the disaffected, and many of those natives, who had acquired permanent freeholds, and were freed by English law from slavish dependence on their chieftains, became too sensible of the superior advantage of their present situation to wish for a relapse into their former uncivilized mode of life. Industry began now to afford a suitable recompence to those who applied to it, and the increase of commerce was perceived by customs being gradually augmented from fifty to nearly two thousand pounds a year.

The general inclination that prevailed of peaceably submitting to the royal authority is evinced from the following instance of forbearance exhibited by some of the native Irish. The lords and gentlemen of Connaught, and of the county of Clare, having surrendered their estates in the reign of Elizabeth, but neglected in general to comply with the mode required for having them conveyed to them again, thought fit to do so in the thirteenth year of James, when their patents received the great seal. These were not, however, enrolled in chancery, owing to the neglect of the offi-

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Military.

Schemes of
James ad-
vantageous
on the
whole.

Some re-
gulations
prevented
by his
death.

* The military establishment was reduced to thirteen hundred and fifty foot, and two hundred cavalry ; but it did not in reality amount to so many, and even these few were very little acquainted with their duty. Their cost to the crown was fifty two thousand five hundred pounds a year, a sum exceeding, by above sixteen thousand pounds, the annual revenue of the kingdom. Yet, though their cost was so enormous, they were obliged to levy their subsistence of the people, which shows that there was great corruption and mismanagement in the military department.

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cers, although three thousand pounds had been advanced for that purpose, and the king's commissioners, taking the advantage of this default, pronounced the titles defective, and the lands still rested in the crown. They even recommended a western plantation similar to that of Ulster, which afforded such alarm to the proprietors that they offered, in case of getting a new confirmation of their patent, to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to double their annual composition. The necessities of James, which were increased by his engaging in a war with Spain, induced him to pay a favourable attention to the proposal, but the settlement of the business, being interrupted by his death, was devolved on his son and successor.

1625.

CHAPTER IX.

Violence of sects at accession of Charles I.—His schemes—Royalgraces—Duplicity—Contribution—Religious disturbance—Continuance of subsidy—Wentworth chief governor—His arrogance—A parliament—Servility of commons—Spirited conduct of lords—Laws—Wentworth's attention to the church—His arbitrary government—Beneficial effects—Linen manufacture—His attachment to the king—Created earl of Strafford—Strenuous loyalty of parliament—Abatement—Cause—Attack on Strafford—Parsons and Borlace lords justices—Compliance of Charles—Mean shift of commons and lords—Prosecution of Strafford's friends—Charles still more compliant—Zeal of commons for reforms—Coalition of puritants and recusants—Artifice of recusants.

CHARLES I, so remarkable for his errors and misfortunes, besides the war with Spain in which he found himself involved, was also perplexed with the contentions that prevailed among his own subjects. These contentions arose from the violence of religious zeal, which rendered the two opposite sects equally begottd and intolerant. Their aversion to each other, and obstinate attachment to their own particular tenets, was especially prevalent in Ireland. In this country the ghostly counsels of their spiritual instructors was most industriously employed to confirm them in their faith. Pope Urban VIII sent forth a bull exhorting the catholics rather to suffer death than take the pestilent oath of supremacy, by which *the sceptre of the catholic church was wrested, as he declared, from the hand of the Vicar of God Almighty*, meaning himself.

On the contrary the puritans, a species of protestants so called from their affected purity of religion, took every opportunity to express their abhorrence of popery. Excited by their importunities, an assembly of prelates, convened by primate Usher, in a public declaration set forth, that to tolerate popery was a sin of a grievous kind, since the tolerators render themselves accessory to *idolatry, abomination, and the perdition of souls, which perished in the deluge of catholic*

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Violence of
sects at ac-
cession of
Charles I.

C H A P. IX *apostacy.* It was at that time judged expedient by the Irish government to afford particular indulgence to puritans, many of whom were clergymen, and were allowed tithe, though they refused to submit to episcopal ordination, or to use the liturgy, but officiated according to the presbyterian mode of worship, to which, as they came from Scotland, they had been always accustomed.

His
schemes,

To effect his purpose, and obtain suitable support from these two opposite sects, required some delicate management in his majesty. Apprehensive, on account of the war with Spain, that some attempts would be made on this island, he had his forces here augmented to five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, but being unable to pay them, he ordered them, according to his usual arbitrary mode of conduct, to be quartered in the several counties and towns, requiring the inhabitants of each place to supply them in their turns for three months with clothes, provisions, and other necessaries. In order to reconcile the people to this imposition, lord Faulkland, the deputy, who had succeeded Saint-John, sent letters to the several communities, recommending a cheerful submission, and promising that the usual composition would be suspended, and that other graces would be granted by his majesty, that would sufficiently compensate for the expense. This proposal excited the attention both of catholics and protestants, as both of them had grievances to get redressed. Accordingly, the nobility and gentry held a conference with the deputy at the castle, when the catholics were the prevalent party, and resolved, with his consent, to send agents to the English court with an offer of a voluntary contribution of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be paid to his majesty regularly in three years. This offer was accepted by the king, who conferred the graces they desired, and sent them by way of instruction, to his governor and council in Ireland.

Royal
graces,

Though these graces were particularly favourable to the recusants, yet they were, on the whole, very equitable, and calculated for the relief of the subject. By these his majesty's claims to the lands were to extend no farther back than sixty years; the inhabitants of Connaught were admitted to have their titles confirmed by a new enrolment of

their patents; recusant lawyers were excused from the oath of supremacy, and allowed to practice in the court, on taking an oath to defend the king, their legitimate sovereign; several causes of complaint, of which the detail would be tedious, in the civil, military, commercial, and ecclesiastical departments, were to be removed, and a parliament was to be summoned to give due efficacy to all the favours that were promised.

Duplicity.

The parliament, however, that was to confirm all these graces, did not meet, and his majesty, on this occasion, gave an early instance of his duplicity. The deputy, indeed, by his majesty's order, summoned it for a particular day; but, as he neglected to certify the causes and considerations, according to the law of Poynings, the writs were illegal, and no steps were taken to rectify the error.

1628.
Contribution.

Yet, notwithstanding this breach of promise, the contributions were regularly paid by all parties, for which compliance the recusants took all the merit to themselves, and relying on this merit, and the mild disposition of the deputy, assumed high authority. They seized several churches for their service; celebrated their worship with pompous solemnity; erected a college in the capital; collected their secular and regular clergy from foreign countries, who were devoted to the supreme pontiff; and, in many instances, exhibited an intemperate zeal that gave great offence to the protestants. Urged by their importunities, the deputy issued a proclamation, condemning the insolence of the catholic clergy, and "commanding them, in his majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies." This edict, which was intended to be only a matter of form, gave great offence to the recusants, who complained of the burden they endured from the voluntary contribution. Hence the king thought it expedient, in order to appease their discontent, to accept five thousand pounds, instead of ten thousand, for each quarterly payment, until the whole subsidy should be discharged. This slight disagreement caused lord Faulkland to be recalled, whose gentle disposition was not fitted to restrain the violent temper of the different parties. In his room two lords-justices were appointed to execute the government, Adam Loftus, lord viscount Ely, and Richard Boyle, earl of Cork.

1629.

CHAP. IX. These were extremely averse to popery, the latter in particular, who had established a colony of English protestants on his own lands.

Religious
disturb-
ance.

The lords-justices, in compliance with the prejudices they had entertained, without waiting for any instructions from England, attacked the recusants with great rigour, and threatened to inflict the penalty of the law on all who absented themselves from public worship. They were, however, soon informed that such severity was not acceptable to his majesty, which afforded cause of immoderate triumph to the recusants, who thought themselves the particular favourites of the English government, and exhibited in a public manner the pompous ceremonies of their religion. Accordingly, a fraternity of Carmelites, clad in the habits of their order, proceeded, in defiance of law, to celebrate their religious rites before a great multitude in a very frequented part of Dublin, and some jesuits and friars officiating there, infused sedition by their sermons, as was their practice, into the popish inhabitants of the city.* Warrants were therefore issued for the apprehension of these jesuits and friars, and the archbishop of Dublin, with the chief magistrate, led a body of troops to seize them, and disperse the meeting, but the friars and their congregation resisted them, and put them to flight. On the representation of this incident to the English cabinet, fifteen religious houses were seized by their order, for the king's use, and the Romish college in the capital assigned to the university, by whom it was converted into a protestant seminary.

Continu-
ance of
subsidy.

Yet the principal care of the English cabinet was the establishment of a revenue for the maintenance of a military force competent for the support of the Irish government. At present, indeed, the apprehension of any danger from the disaffected was decreased by the termination of the war with France and Spain, excited by the caprice of the favourite Buckingham, and conducted with little credit. On various accounts, however, a moderate military force was still considered necessary, and as the time for the termina-

* See Harris's *Fiction Unmasked*, in answer to Curry, p. 87.

tion of the voluntary subsidy approached, it was thought expedient to adopt some measures for its continuance. Accordingly, lord viscount Wentworth, appointed lord-deputy, advised the king to threaten that, if it were not continued, he would abridge the *graces* he had promised, and strictly levy the fines for non-conformity. This threat had the desired effect. It was agreed, after some delay, that an additional subsidy of twenty thousand pounds should be granted for one year, and paid by quarterly assessments.

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IX.

1632.

Lord Wentworth being detained in England some time after his appointment, by the urgency of his affairs, it was at length thought expedient to send him to take on him in person the government of Ireland. This nobleman, who is better known by the superior title of earl Strafford, possessed such a diversity of qualities as rendered him a fit subject both of panegyric to his friends, and of censure to his enemies. At the commencement of his political career, he joined the popular party in England, but as soon as he found it to suit his purpose deserted them, and became a strenuous adherent to the king. Suitable to his notions of prerogative, he considered Ireland to be a conquered kingdom, and therefore supposed that its inhabitants, of every description, had no claim to any political rights, but depended solely on the royal grace for those they were allowed to enjoy.

Wentworth
chief-governor.
1633.

At his first entrance on his government, he showed the opinion he had formed, for he only summoned a few of the council, which was considered by the rest as an affront, and let these few remain some hours before he deigned to make his appearance. For this delay he made no apology, nor consulted them on the business for which they had been summoned, but just charged the judges to inform the people in the several circuits of the good disposition the king had towards those who would be liberal in their grants to his majesty. At a second meeting, to which they were called in order to deliberate on a mode for the relief of the king's necessities, they seemed, as might be expected, rather reserved, and unwilling to have the contribution continued for another year; but he told them plainly, that he had convened them, not from necessity, but to give them an opportunity to show their loyalty, and that, at the peril of his head, he would

His arrogance.

C H A P. undertake to provide a maintenance for the king's army
IX. without their assistance. This bold language made them sufficiently compliant; they agreed to offer a contribution for another year, according to his desire, and to petition the king to have a parliament soon convened. In these measures, the whole body of the people also concurred, being influenced by their example.

**A parlia-
ment.**

The inclination of the people, and the necessities of the king, rendered it expedient to call such an assembly, but his majesty had a great aversion to it, and notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, could only be reconciled to its meeting by his reliance on the dexterity of lord Wentworth, in managing the opposite parties with whom he had to deal. An equal number both of catholics and protestants he had contrived to get elected, and, by privately working upon the apprehensions of each, endeavoured to attach them to government. He told the former, that if they were not sufficiently liberal, the penal laws would be put in force, and the latter, that he would be obliged by their parsimony to tolerate their opponents. Yet on every occasion he displayed a pride and insolence that might seem unfit for accomplishing the purpose he intended.

It had been usual before parliament was summoned to convene and consult the lords of the pale on the time it should meet, and business that should be transacted, but this established custom was contemptuously neglected by the deputy; and when the earl of Fingal, being deputed by these lords, ventured to put him in mind of it, he was severely rebuked for his assurance. When many of the members of the council, at their meeting before the session to consult on the causes and considerations, and bills to be transmitted, according to the law of Poynings, seemed disinclined to adopt the mode he had prescribed, he interrupted the consultations by informing them, that their duty required them to consider, not what pleased the people, but what might be agreeable to the king, as to induce him to call a parliament; and assured them, in plain terms, that if sufficient supplies for his majesty's service should not be granted by parliament, he would put himself at the head of the army, and, by right of the royal prerogative, levy them

from those who could best afford it, and who as yet had paid very little. Intimidated by his menace, the council C H A P
IX.
submissively consented to all the measures he had proposed.

When parliament met he addressed them in equally im- Servility of
commons.
perious language. "You must not," he said to them, "have any private meetings; this in the king's name I must forbid, and am ordered to punish with a heavy hand." The event, however, showed that he adopted the best mode to accomplish the end proposed, for the commons unanimously voted very large supplies, which they left entirely to his disposal, and only petitioned that they might be applied to certain purposes. Such was their compliance, and so humble their devotion to him, that when Sir Robert Talbot, in the ardour of debate, was betrayed into some unguarded reflexions on his conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to prison until he should implore pardon of the lord-deputy on his knees. Yet, as is usual with sycophants, they were extremely tyrannical over their inferiors, for when one of their members was affronted, they ordered the sheriff of Dublin to inflict corporal punishment on the offender.

The lords indeed displayed a superior spirit. The Spirited
conduct of
lords.
young earl of Ormond, on entering the house refused to take off his sword in obedience to the general order of Wentworth, who thought it prudent not only to let him remain unpunished, but also to admit him into his favour. However, to make amends for this compliance, by means of the royal interposition, he obliged the young earl of Kildare to make an apology for his attempts to oppose his measures. Yet this was only a particular submission, and the lords on the whole acted in such a manner as became persons of their eminent birth and station. They complained loudly of grievances, and insisted that the royal promise should be performed by the confirmation of the graces. They even proceeded to order the attorney-general to reduce into a legal form several acts on which they debated, that they might be transmitted to England. Against this measure the lord-deputy entered his formal protest, as being contrary to the law of Poynings, which gave the sole right of framing laws to the chief governor and council, to

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IX.

Law.

whom the lords, by means of a remonstrance or petition, might offer their advice on such occasions.

The first session being completed which was appointed by the deputy for making a provision for the army and for the debts of the crown, the second was held in due time, which was designed for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the subject: but when he had accomplished his main object, he began to shuffle, and make evasions. He even absolutely denied two of the most material graces, the one limiting the king's title to sixty years, the other allowing new patents to be passed for estates in Connaught, and the county of Clare. Yet several laws were made for the general improvement of the country, among which was one adopting the most valuable English statutes that were enacted since the reign of Henry VII. Another act was passed for preventing fraudulent modes of conveying property, by which titles became intricate, and heirs were deprived of their just inheritance, with several other disadvantages. As these modes were practised by the recusants with an intent to escape the law, the act gave great offence to them, but was agreeable to the rest of the people. In some instances where the opposition of these religionists prevented provision being made by parliament for the public advantage, the deputy determined to stretch out the prerogative to suit the occasion, and supply the deficiency by an act of state. Yet his interest, with a petition from parliament, could not get a mint established in Ireland, for some reasons not well understood. After an act of general pardon was passed, a dissolution succeeded.

Wentworth's attention to the church.

During the sitting of parliament, a convocation also met, which granted eight subsidies to the king, and solicited a redress of grievances. The established clergy, by means of fraudulent practices in various forms, had been reduced to great poverty, and consequent corruption of morals, and vulgarity of behaviour, which caused an Irishman sarcastically to observe, that the *king's priests were as bad as those of the pope*. In order to correct these abuses, Wentworth exerted himself to provide churches, able ministers, and revenues for their support, by getting the usurped property restored to the ecclesiastical establishment. From

Robert Boyle, earl of Cork, in other respects a man of liberality and public spirit, he compelled the restitution of tithes to the amount of two thousand a-year. This was effected by means of the acts he had passed in the late parliament, which not only required a restitution of church property, but prevented the repetition of such grievances in future. To the education of the Irish clergy he also afforded particular attention ; some disorders in the university he got regulated, and had a new code of laws first drawn up by the archbishop of Canterbury, who had done the same service for the seminary of Oxford. In order to make the Irish established church conformable to the English, he had the most acceptable canons of the latter substituted in place of the articles of Usher, which were thus tacitly abrogated. For the purposes of rectifying abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, and increasing the royal revenue, a high court of commission was established in Dublin, with the same unconstitutional powers as that of England.

Wentworth now proceeded to acts very suitable to his own arbitrary disposition. In open violation of the royal promise, he resolved to put in execution the scheme of western plantation, by which the title of every estate in Connaught was to be subverted. As the inhabitants of Leitrim had already consented to the surrender of their lands, he proceeded to the county of Roscommon with a tribe of court lawyers, and the commissioners of plantations along with him. Having opened his commission, he submitted the evidences for the king's title to a jury, composed of the principal men of the county, informing them, that the scheme was intended for the real advantage of their country, and that even if their verdict should be unfavourable, the king's title to their lands would be established by another mode of proceeding. Intimidated by his menaces, and by the determined character of the man, the jury found a verdict for the king's title, as did also the counties of Mayo and Sligo, influenced by their example. The county of Galway, however, was not so compliant. The gentry there being encouraged by the earl of Clanricard, and supported by their lawyers, who pleaded their cause boldly, got a verdict in opposition to the king's claims, which gave

1635.

His arbitrary government.

C H A P.
IX. such offence to the lord-deputy, that, in his rage, he laid a fine of a thousand pounds on the sheriff, and bound the obstinate jurors to answer for their crime in the castle chamber, where each of them was fined four thousand pounds, and sentenced to imprisonment until the fine was paid, and they made an acknowledgment of their offence in open court, upon their knees. Yet, though judgment was finally given in the king's favour, the scheme of a western plantation was, at length, totally abandoned, on account of the dangerous discontents it occasioned.

The arbitrary disposition of the deputy being, in this instance, obliged to submit to the public opinion, he could not be prevailed on, by the advice of some friends, to pursue more lenient measures, but was hurried on, by the violence of his temper, to continue a rigorous exertion of his authority. In particular, he exercised great severity on those individuals who were so unfortunate as to give him any offence. Sir Piers Crosby, a military officer of repute, a member of parliament, and of the privy council, on account of his opposing some measures of administration, was not only removed from the board, but tried by a court composed of the deputy's creatures, and fined in such excessive damages, that in order to save himself from ruin, he was obliged to make a most humiliating submission. The earl of Kildare was imprisoned for hesitating to submit his property to the sentence of the privy council. But lord Mountnorris was treated with still greater severity. Once in company, he happened to use an equivocal expression of the deputy, and some months after, was tried for the offence, before a court martial, where the deputy presided as general, and to which he was subject as a military officer. By this obsequious court he was unanimously condemned as a mutineer, was sentenced to be imprisoned, rendered incapable of serving his majesty, and to be shot or beheaded at the pleasure of the lord-deputy. This last part of the sentence was not indeed put in execution, for which the deputy took great merit to himself; but this noblemen, on a fictitious charge, was deprived of all his offices, and obliged to submit to a long confinement. He had the lord-chancellor, Loftus, suspended from his office, and put in prison, on the petty charge of

not making a suitable settlement on his married daughter, C H A P.
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with whom the deputy was supposed to have a criminal intercourse. On such occasions, appeals were frequently made to the king, but the arbitrary Charles would give no satisfaction, and encouraged the deputy to pursue the same conduct.

Though individuals might suffer this severity from an administration that disdained to adhere to the strict rules of law, yet the nation in general felt the good effects of a rigid and vigilant government. The revenue was considerably increased, not only by the improvements made in the usual rents, but also by fees that were raised on renewal of letters patent, and grants for plantations. Thus the O'Byrnes of Wicklow paid fifteen thousand pounds, and the company of London, the proprietors of Derry and Colerain, seventy thousand, in cases of this kind. The money thus obtained was carefully applied to the public service, and a sum reserved for emergencies. The army was well disciplined, regularly paid, and preserved in good condition, was inoffensive to the peaceable subjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. The church had its income increased, and its ministers rendered more respectable. Encouraged by the strict execution of the English law, great numbers applied themselves to pursuits of industry, and obtained a suitable recompence for their trouble. The beneficial effects were discovered by the increase of the value of lands, the extension of commerce, the augmentation of customs, of goods exported, and of shipping to the amount of a hundred fold. Beside these advantages, the deputy used his influence to get oppressive duties abolished on the importation of coals and horses into Ireland, and the exportation of live cattle.

To his strenuous exertions was owing the establishment of the linen manufacture in Ulster, for which he is certainly entitled to the gratitude of posterity. A woollen manufacture, which was beginning to increase, he discouraged, not only to remove every obstacle to the staple commodity of England, but also to render this country dependent on the other for her clothing, which might prevent a separation. To make amends for this injustice he resolved to use every

C H A P.
IX.

endeavour to get the linen manufacture substituted in its place. Accordingly he had flax-seed brought from Holland, the soil here being in many parts suitable to it, weavers from France and the Low Countries, had looms fabricated, and several useful regulations adopted. He even embarked thirty thousand pounds of his own property in the trade. Such was the first establishment of that manufacture which in future times has proved the source of such affluence to Ireland.

His attach-
ment to the
king.

However desirous the deputy might be for the prosperity of this country, the service of his royal master seemed the principal object of his care. Charles, by his zealous attempts to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, having excited formidable commotions in that kingdom, required every assistance that his friends could afford him. Wentworth, in particular, exhibited unusual activity on this occasion. Being justly apprehensive of the attachment of the Scottish settlers in Ulster to the *solemn covenant* of their countrymen, he framed an oath of allegiance to be imposed on them, expressing their abhorrence of the insurgents conduct in Scotland, and abjuring all covenants contrary to the tenor of their present obligation. All persons of every age, sex, and station, were required to take this oath, and those who refused it were severely fined and imprisoned. His zeal, however, was not confined to this object. He sent the king thirty thousand pounds from the Irish exchequer; reinforced the army in Ireland with four hundred horse, sent five hundred men to England, under a brave officer named Willoughby, to garrison Carlisle; supplied magazines with arms and ammunition for ten thousand foot, and a thousand cavalry, defeated a plot for the delivery of the castle of Carrickfergus to the insurgents of Scotland, and executed the chief agent of the conspiracy; augmented the garrison, and ordered the main body of the forces to assemble at this place on account of its vicinity to Scotland.

Created
earl of
Strafford.

The insurgents of that kingdom, notwithstanding their affected zeal for religion, exhibited in their conduct more worldly policy than the unhappy Charles. After the injudicious peace he had made with them, he disbanded his forces, but they retained theirs, being resolved not to fulfil

the terms of it, and when he was obliged again to engage in war to repel their invasion, he found himself unable to support it. In this critical situation he sent over to Ireland for Lord Wentworth to assist him with his advice. The deputy having instantly obeyed, was favourably received by his royal master, who created him earl of Strafford, a knight of the garter, and confirmed him in his situation by the more honourable title of lord-lieutenant.

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IX.

1640,

An Irish parliament, being summoned by his advice, had assembled two days before his return to Dublin, which exhibited very splendid proofs of their loyalty. The commons, though constituted of such opposite materials, voted four entire subsidies with unusual unanimity, expressing their highest encomium on his majesty for being so good as to give them so excellent a chief governor, and declaring their complete approbation of all his acts. Afterwards they agreed to afford two additional subsidies, if the Scottish war should require them, assuring his majesty that they were ready to support him with their persons and estates, with such like lavish expressions of their loyal attachment. The peers, being determined that the commons should not surpass them in zeal for their sovereign, published a declaration to the same effect.

Strenuous
loyalty of
parliament.

Encouraged by these liberal offers, Strafford issued orders for the levy of a new army, but left the accomplishment of the scheme to others, being obliged to repair himself to England, in order to assist his royal master. Accordingly, a body of eight thousand catholics were raised with great expedition, a topic for scandal to the rigid puritans, and put under the command of protestant officers, to which was added a thousand protestant soldiers drafted from the old army. The whole consisting of eight thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry, in excellent order and fit for service, assembled at Carrickfergus. But after all the professions of zeal, the subsidies for the subsistence of this army were very scantily afforded. Those who had offered to devote their lives and fortunes to the king, now formed a combination to prevent the payment of the supplies, (which had been voted unanimously) under pretence, as it were, of having a new mode of taxation settled by the present parliament. The

Abatement.

H A P. fervid zeal of the national representatives seemed very much
IX. abated, for which it is easy to account.

Cause.

On the renewal of hostilities with the Scottish covenanters, who had abolished episcopacy by a general assembly, Charles was obliged, in the distressed situation of his finances, to convene an English parliament after an intermission of eleven years. From this assembly, however, he could obtain no subsidy until the national grievances should be previously discussed, which irritated him so much that he rashly dissolved them in disgust. Having obtained a temporary subsistence for his troops from a convocation of the clergy, private loans, and other means, he gave orders for them to march against the invaders, but the Scots, being sooner prepared for action, and passing into England, repulsed the advanced guard of the royal army at the river Tyne, which caused them to retreat in confusion into Yorkshire. Unable to support his troops any longer by his own resources, he agreed to enter into a treaty with his revolted subjects, and being involved in great difficulties, he was obliged again to summon an English parliament. This parliament, so famous for the singular events it occasioned, which is known in history by the name of *the long parliament*, met in November 1640. In the house of commons now assembled were men of extensive design, uncommon sagacity and resolution, who resolved to abridge the unconstitutional power of the king, and commenced their attack by impeaching before the lords the earl of Strafford for high treason, the monarch's prime favourite, and the principal adviser, as supposed, of the arbitrary measures he had pursued.

While Charles was perplexed with the opposition he met with from the Scottish covenanters and the commons of England, the Irish parliament, after all their professions of zeal for his majesty, induced by the example set before them, began to waver in their attachment. Grievances were the principal topic of complaint with the English legislature, and the commons of Ireland now echoed the same clamour. They first complained of the oppressions endured from the ecclesiastical courts, and the demands of the established clergy, a complaint very natural for the majority, consisting of recusants and puritans, who, though hostile to each other,

cordially agreed in their aversion to the established church. C H A P.
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 They next complained of the burden of the assessments, which they themselves had voted, and by making alterations in the mode of raising the most of them, reduced them to a mere trifle, which provoked his majesty to order their resolution on this point to be torn out of the journals of the house. Regardless, however, of the royal displeasure, and encouraged by the increasing power of the English malcontents, they proceeded to other measures introductory to their intended attack on their viceroy, whom they had extolled with such praises.

A remonstrance, enumerating many causes of complaint, both real and fictitious, sustained by the people of Ireland during his administration, was abruptly presented to the commons, who voted in a tumultuous manner all the articles collectively to be grievances, without allowing a separate discussion of each. They also petitioned Sir Christopher Wandesford, the lord-deputy, to admit a select committee of the commons to repair to England to lay their complaints before his majesty; but without waiting for his answer they immediately chose this committee, consisting of papists and puritans, and while he was hesitating sent off their agents before them to London. The committee themselves followed soon after, and were received with particular favour by the popular party, who expected to derive considerable assistance from them in the designs they had formed for the destruction of earl Strafford. By the influence of two leading members, the English commons appointed also a committee to inquire into the grievances of Ireland, to whom (and not to the king, as they were *publicly* instructed), the Irish agents communicated their remonstrance, which was presented to the house with a petition from several of the Irish commons. To the committee from Ireland, already mentioned, was annexed a deputation of Irish lords elected privately by a few nobles, which the English commons affected to regard as a committee of the Irish house of lords, and treated with the same favourable attention as the other one that was regularly appointed.

The prosecution of the earl of Strafford, with the various vexations of the Irish government, had such an effect, as is supposed, on Wandesford, the deputy, as to occasion his

Attack on
Strafford.

Parsons
and Bor-
lace, lords-
justices.

CH A P. death. On this event the king, by the advice of Strafford, IX. appointed the earl of Ormond his successor, to which the Irish committee in London objected, as also to the appointment of lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west, who was designed to be joined in commission, as a lord-justice, with Sir William Parsons, a strenuous adherent of the puritanic party. To their objections the king unfortunately submitted, and hence the government of Ireland was abandoned to Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, two puritans of illiberal principles and narrow intellects.

Compliance of Charles.

The concession of Charles to the demands of this committee did not stop here. He consented to have the leaf restored which had been torn by his order from the commons journal, and to have all his correspondence with his ministers entered in the signet office, open to the inspection of every subject. When the committee found him so compliant, they at length presented to him their remonstrance in due form, but when Strafford solicited a commission of inquiry into each particular grievance distinctly, they slunk from the examination.

Mean shift of commons and lords.

With the redress of former grievances, the Irish commons, in the meeting of parliament after the prorogation, was now not content, but, like those in England, applied for new regulations and securities, tending, in some cases, to advance their own power, and, in others, the public interest. Being resolved on the destruction of Strafford, and, at the same time, apprehensive of the charge of inconsistency, after the high encomium they had lavished on him in the preamble to their bill of subsidies, they had the assurance to declare solemnly, that this preamble had been surreptitiously inserted by Strafford or his agents, and had been permitted to remain, as if unnoticed, lest the rejection of the bill, and the consequent delay in raising of the subsidies, should have been distressing to his majesty. The lords, possessed with the same spirit, made a similar protestation, and nominated the Irish nobles, then resident in London, a committee of their house. Yet, though they agreed with the commons in this point, on the whole, during those critical times, they showed a more adequate regard for the constitution.

To gain the favour of the ruling party in England, was the particular study of the Irish commons, who impeached of high treason Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor, Sir Gerard Lowther, chief-justice of the common pleas, Sir George Radcliffe, and Dr Bramhal, bishop of Derry, four friends of Strafford, in order to prevent them from giving evidence in favour of that devoted nobleman on his trial. But, after his attainder and death, the prosecution of these men being no longer necessary, was privately laid aside. Court favour was now directed in a different channel, and to have suffered from his enmity, afforded a sure claim to reward. Hence, Sir Piers Crosby was restored to his place in council, and Archibald Adair, a Scotchman, late bishop of Killala, who had been deprived of that see for expressing his approbation of the covenant, was recommended by the lords-justices to the see of Waterford.

The execution of his chief favourite, earl Strafford, and the continually-increasing power of the English commons, augmented still more the inclination of the unhappy Charles to make compliances. He consented that the remonstrance of the Irish committee should be heard before the privy council, and to most of the articles of which they complained, he gave favourable answers. He agreed that those peers who held titles, without property, in Ireland, should be deprived of their votes in the Irish house of lords, unless they purchased estates in this kingdom within a limited time ; that all his subjects should be allowed to repair to any part of his majesty's dominions without leave of their viceroy, or any other restraint ; that the chief-governors and privy-council should be prohibited from deciding in cases of property, and from consulting letters-patent ; that monopolies in commerce should be revoked ; that the court of high commission should be suspended ; that the graces and the demands of the clergy should be referred to the lords-justices and council ; that the abuses of martial law and of quo-warrantos against boroughs should be reformed ; and, that the preamble in the bill of subsidies encomiastic of Strafford should be repealed. In a letter to the lords-justices he said it was his wish that his subjects in Ireland should enjoy the *graces*, and ordered bills to be

CHAP.
IX.

Prosecu-
tion of
Strafford's
friends.

Charles
still more
compliant.

C H A P. IX. transmitted for the establishment of some of the most material. For all which kind expressions he received the thanks of both houses, who, at the same time, prayed that the present parliament should not be dissolved or prorogued until laws were prepared for the establishment of all his graces, and the redress of every grievance. To some articles, however, he expressed his dissent, and, in particular, refused to admit a repeal of any part of the law of Poynings.

Zeal of commons for reforms.

In the mean while, the Irish commons took the lead over the lords in their zeal for reformation. They resolved to restrain the established clergy in many of their demands, and to add a number of statutes to the college of Dublin, which was thought necessary for the changes they intended to effect. They expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with the answer given by the judges to their questions respecting the powers of the chief-governors, and in a very precise and forcible manner asserted the rights of Irish subjects. These rights, however, were now confirmed by the bills brought over by the two committees from London, by which his majesty's claim to the estates in Connaught was given up, the possessions of his subjects ensured, and every essential grievance redressed.

Coalition of puritans and recusants.

Of these committees, the one from the commons was more especially composed of recusants and puritans, the majority of that assembly, who had formed a temporary coalition for the ostensible purpose of extorting concessions from the king in his present embarrassed situation.

Artifice of recusants.

The puritans, however, were duped by the recusants, who had the artifice, not only to get the Irish, but even the puritanic English parliament, to further their designs. In compliance with the urgent remonstrance of this parliament, the king, having disbanded the catholic forces levied by Strafford for the invasion of Scotland, applied to the Spanish ambassador to have them transported to Spain for the use of the Spanish monarch, which he thought would be a useful mode to get rid of them. The terms were settled, and the ambassador, at a good deal of expense, had provided means for their conveyance abroad; but it was prevented by the factious opposition both of the Irish and

English parliament, under the apprehension, as pretended, of their being sent back with a hostile intent by the Spanish government, who, in reality, at the time were too much engaged in other affairs. Thus did the conspirators, who raised this clamour, effect their purpose by having these troops kept at home as ready instruments to assist them in their rebellious designs. C H A P.
IX.

In order to serve the same end, a report was raised by them, that some dependents of the deceased earl of Strafford, in revenge for his fall, had formed a plot for the destruction of both houses of parliament, by an explosion of gunpowder. The members of their party affected to be firmly persuaded of it, and being in dread for their safety, as they declared, had a committee appointed, mostly of their own selection, to inspect the chambers of the castle. After they had accurately examined all the apartments adjacent to the place of parliamentary session, without the discovery of any suspicious appearance, Lord Macguire, the head of the committee, in the eagerness of his search, demanded an admission to the king's magazines, which was peremptorily refused by Borlace, without having any suspicion of his real design.

CHAPTER X.

*Severe treatment of the Irish—Their condition improved—
 Their antipathy increased—Influence of ecclesiastics—Cause
 for discontent—Schemes of insurrection—Leaders of the
 conspiracy—Their designs—Discovery of O'Conolly—
 State of Dublin castle—Intelligence of rebellion in the north
 —Catholics of the pale suspected—Insurrection in Leinster
 —Success of northern rebels—Forged commission—Bold re-
 sistance—Cruel massacres—Acts of retaliation.*

CHAP. X. THE regular course of my narrative now leads me to the
 distressful rebellion of *forty-one*, an impartial account of
 which it is so difficult for a native historian to afford. Four
 hundred and seventy years had now elapsed, since the first
 invasion of the English, who drove the Irish into their fast-
 nesses, and took possession of the open country. They did
 not, like the generous Romans, endeavour to civilize the
 people they conquered, by the introduction of useful arts
 and equal laws, of which they stood so much in need, but
 allowed them to continue for ages in the same barbarous
 condition they found them. They refused them the bene-
 fit of the English law, and left them to be ruled by their
 ancient Brehon institutions. So little were they regarded,
 that even putting one of them to death was not considered
 as a heinous crime, and of course was attended with a slight
 punishment. Hence, as they used no endeavours to re-
 form them, but treated them rather like brute beasts than
 human creatures, they met with such a return from them
 as might naturally be expected. They rushed out from
 their fastnesses, and took every opportunity to destroy their
 oppressors. As is usual with barbarians they exhibited
 great treachery in their conduct. Frequently would they
 make feigned submissions, confirmed by solemn oaths, when
 they were overpowered by superior force, but adhered to
 them no longer than they could break through them with

1641.
 Severe
 treatment
 of the
 Irish.

safety. The oppressions they endured were not owing, as remarked by Davies, to the English government, for they sincerely desired to promote the civilization and prosperity of Ireland, but to their own barons and rulers, who sent over bad intelligence to England against them. Of the English colonists, however, many relapsed into the barbarous manners of the native Irish, who were termed degenerate English, and were particular objects of abhorrence to government.

Towards reforming both these and the native Irish, attempts were made in the reign of Elizabeth, and some others preceding, but more of this useful work was effected by James I, than for four hundred and forty years before. The whole country he allowed the benefit of the English law. He first introduced justices and sheriffs into the north, and established two new circuits in Connaught and Munster. The native Irish he brought out from their fastnesses, and settled in the open country, where they might get a knowledge of agriculture, from the English and Scottish colonists he had introduced. Hence, though the plantations in some cases were oppressive, five hundred acres became now more valuable to the Irish, than five thousand before. Not only agriculture, but commerce was very much increased, especially in the present reign, under the administration of Strafford, of whom so many complaints were made for arbitrary proceedings. By him industry and useful arts were encouraged, the shipping surprisingly augmented, manufactures, particularly the linen, introduced, and by the late bills already noticed every essential grievance was redressed. The salutary effect of these benefits was exhibited in the appearance of the country, which was adorned with public buildings, and displayed evident marks of prosperity. Of all these improvements, as was natural after the ill treatment so long endured, the native Irish had not a suitable sense, and entertained a secret abhorrence of the new colonists.

Their natural antipathy was also in a great degree augmented by the difference of religion. The profound ignorance in which they were involved, caused them to pay a superstitious obedience to the commands of their clergy, and

CHAP. rendered them incapable of examining into the rational doc-
X. trines of the reformed faith. Besides, their prejudices operated strongly against their receiving a religion offered to them by the English, whom they considered as their oppressors. Hence so few of them were made converts, and the continuance of their bigotted attachment to popery. Some laws indeed were passed, compelling catholics to pay an outward observance to the protestant mode of worship, but these were seldom enforced, and they were allowed, though with some degree of privacy, the undisturbed exercise of their religion. They had their clergy of various descriptions and orders, archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and the like, who exerted supreme authority over them, in their several jurisdictions, and they were surrounded with crowds of priests and jesuits, who flocked over from foreign countries. They were also allowed to be sheriffs in counties, to have a seat in parliament, and be magistrates in corporations, without taking the oath of supremacy.

**Influence
of ecclesi-
astics.**

Still, however, as already noticed, a great degree of discontent prevailed among them, which was increased by the baneful influence of Irish ecclesiastics, who, being educated abroad, returned to their native land with high opinions of the supreme authority of the pope, and a bigotted abhorrence of heresy. Accustomed also to the pomp with which the ordinances of their religion were celebrated in catholic countries, they were disgusted with the privacy that they were obliged to observe in the exercise of their sacred functions. The scantiness of their precarious income, when compared to the ample revenues of foreign ecclesiastics, had a very sensible effect on them, and made them desirous of possessing the properties of the protestant clergy, which, however inconsiderable, might be increased by the despotic sway with which they ruled their superstitious adherents. Influenced by these motives, they not only increased the disaffection of the Irish exiles they found abroad, but also of the natives at home, both of whom were unfortunately too well inclined to listen to bad advice.

Yet it must be owned, after all the improvements produced in the land, that there were some reasons afforded

for increasing the discontents of the Irish, who were so much prejudiced against the new colonists. In the plantations where they were settled many abuses and oppressions certainly took place, which were occasioned by the commissioners and agents employed in the business; ancient proprietors were in many instances severely harassed, and even dispossessed by fictions of law, and the revival of obsolete claims of the crown; the new settlers themselves gave great provocation, by representing to government all the natives of Ireland, whether of the original Irish or old English race, as dangerous and disaffected; the administration of Strafford, though conducive to the general welfare, was rendered odious by excessive insolence and rigour; and the king himself excited much ill humour by his insincerity in eluding the confirmation of the graces. All these causes or pretences for discontent were aggravated by the malicious representations of the pestilent churchmen above mentioned.

CHAP.
X.

Cause for
discontent.

Schemes of insurrection, it appears, were long meditated before they were put in effect. So early as the year 1634, Heber MacMahon, a catholic ecclesiastic, informed lord Strafford, that it was intended that a general rebellion would burst out in Ireland with the assistance of foreign courts, which he himself was employed to procure. Strafford, on receiving this intelligence, gave no alarm, but only used vigilance and precaution, either to prevent it, or resist it with success. Various other rumours of conspiracies were afterwards propagated, without any consequences succeeding, which caused government to give them no attention. Hence, as they were lulled into a fatal security, the conspirators had convenient leisure to proceed gradually with their schemes. The distraction in England, and the success of the covenanters in Scotland, who effected their religious and political purposes by having recourse to arms, gave them hopes of a favourable issue. At length their active exertions, particularly in foreign countries, began to excite notice. Hence the English cabinet, who got the alarm from their ministers abroad, informed the Irish government of their apprehensions of a rebellion in Ireland, from the great number of Irish priests going over to that

Schemes of
insurrec-
tion.

C H A P. X. kingdom from Spain and other foreign countries. To this intelligence, however, the lords-justices, who wished rather to gain the favour of the parliament than the king, paid no attention, or took no consequent measures of precaution. The conspirators were of course allowed to bring their schemes to maturity without interruption.

Leaders of
the con-
spiracy.

The chief instigator of the plot was Roger Moore, a gentleman of an ancient family, which was once very powerful in Leix, or the Queen's county, but was unjustly deprived of their possessions in the reign of Mary. To the external advantages of a graceful person, polished manners, and insinuating address, improved by travelling on the continent, he added the more solid excellence of judgment and penetration. Connected by intermarriages with some of the principal families of the old English settlers, he lived among them with great intimacy, but was particularly agreeable to the original Irish, who used to celebrate him in their songs, and with whom it was a common saying, that their dependence was on God, our lady, and Roger Moore. Observing the possessions of his ancestors in the hands of strangers, he was pierced with deep resentment, which principally urged him to devise the dangerous scheme of a general insurrection.

One of the first associates in his designs was Richard Plunket, a person of a respectable family, educated in England, advanced to military rank in Flanders, polite and plausible, but indigent, bigotted, and vain. Another was Connor Macguire, baron of Enniskillen, whose family estates were forfeited in the Tyrone rebellion, but restored partly to his grandfather, and devolved on him, by whom they were mostly dissipated in extravagance; of course he was ready for any change, and was also proud, licentious, and of mean intellect. To these were annexed two confederates of singular fierceness, Hugh MacMahon, and Hugh Byrne, (whose father had been deprived of his estates by Parsons, the lord-justice), Sir James Dillon, of an honourable English family of the pale, Philip Reily, with many others of less note.

These conspirators soon after got a powerful accession to their cause in Sir Phelim O'Nial of Kinnard, in the county

of Tyrone, whose family, instead of being injured, had been particularly favoured by the English government ; but the sense of gratitude had not such influence over him as national and religious zeal. In his youth he professed to be a protestant, and was educated in England at Lincoln's-inn ; but with all these advantages had a narrow intellect, and brutal disposition, which he showed by adopting the religion and manners of his clan, and consuming his estate in low sensual gratifications. From the death of the titular earl of Tyrone, an Irish exile in Spain, he derived great additional consequence, as he thence became the ostensible head of that powerful sept, and a claimant to their princely dominions, which had been forfeited. In the same cause was associated his brother Turlough O'Nial, and also the officers permitted to levy troops for the Spanish service, among whom was one Brian O'Nial, and Plunket, and Byrne, already mentioned. It must here be owned that the furious declamations against popery, both of English and Scottish puritans, tended to increase the number and violence of the conspirators, who affected to dread a persecution from the mistaken zeal of these religionists.

The troops levied for the Spanish service the contrivers of the plot detained in Ireland, and also enlisted others on that pretence, without authority, depending for the payment of these, and all their men, on the rents of the kingdom, which they proposed to seize without respect of persons, and also on a supply of money from the pope. The insurrection, which was to be a general one, it was intended should take place at the approach of winter, when it would be difficult to send supplies from England, and for its commencement the fifth of October was fixed. However, as the time began to draw near, some unforeseen impediments fell in the way. In order to encourage the confederates, Plunket had assured them of the co-operation of the catholics of the pale ; but being of less desperate fortunes, and less hostile to the English government, they became cold in the cause as the danger began to approach, and declined to engage in the enterprise, expecting, by parliamentary exertions, to succeed in all their reasonable demands. Discouraged by this defection, some of the principal con-

Their designs.

C H A P. X. spirators resolved to follow their example, of which, when Moore was informed, he rushed out from his retreat, (where he had continued some time employing Macguire as his agent) and, by his arguments and remonstrances, confirmed Sir Phelim, Macguire, and Byrne, in their former determination.

The twenty-third of October was now appointed for the commencement of their operations, on which day Moore was to surprise the castle of Dublin, assisted by Byrne, Macguire, and some others, who were to employ an equal number of men from Ulster in this bold enterprise. By the former the greater gate, and by the latter the lesser one was to be forced, and after them great numbers were to rush in. To prevent alarm they were to pass for recruits for the Spanish service, and were to meet in Dublin on the market day, when little notice would be taken of their number.

On the same day that the attack was to be made on the castle, different leaders, by the direction of Sir Phelim, were to seize the several fortresses in Ulster, and, on effecting this, they were to march under his command to the capital, in order to secure the possession of that important post. The completion of this business was to be a signal for the other provinces to join the confederacy. It was intended that there should be as little bloodshed as possible in effecting their designs, and that the loyal gentry should be confined as hostages. Some, indeed, had more sanguinary intentions, even the destruction of the British planters, and other protestants, which was recommended by many of the clergy at a meeting held at the abbey of Multifernam in Westmeath. The designs of others extended no farther than to banishment, but all agreed that the catholic religion should be established, and their prelates should sit in parliament, and that, if even the authority of the king should be admitted, the lords-justices should be of their persuasion. Yet it was resolved not to molest *at first* the Scottish settlers in Ulster, the strong adversaries of their faith, as their resistance, on account of their numbers, and vicinity to Scotland, might be attended with great danger.

In the mean while, the lords-justices continued in supine

security. Not only was the intelligence from the British CHAP.
X.
cabinet disregarded by them, but also an express sent by Sir William Cole of Enniskillen, informing them of an unusual ferment and frequent consultation among Sir Phelim O'Nial, lord Macguire, and their followers. Again that gentleman sent them, on the twenty-second of October, a full account of the conspiracy, which was either intercepted or suppressed. On the same day, Moore and most of the other leaders assembled in the capital, and, though they found that only eighty of their number had arrived, they flattered themselves it would be completed before the time of action. But on this very evening, which preceded the day appointed for the attempt, a discovery of the plot was providentially obtruded on the lords justices, who were so blind to the danger with which they were surrounded.

Owen O'Conolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, a Discovery
of O'Conolly.
native Irishman, but bred a protestant, was considered by Hugh MacMahon, one of the conspirators, as a fit person to promote their designs, on the supposition of his secret attachment to the religion of his ancestors, and his probable aversion to the English government, for despoiling his family of their lands by the system of plantation introduced. On that account, MacMahon, on the evening of the twenty-second of October, discovered to him the plot, exulting in the glorious attempt of the succeeding day, and enlarging, in full confidence, on the excellence of the cause, and fair prospect of success. Having feigned a compliance with his design, O'Conolly continued some time with him in a drunken carousal, and having left him with some difficulty, he rushed, in a state of intoxication, into the presence of Sir William Parsons, whom he informed of the plot just ready for explosion. The lord-justice, being prejudiced against his appearance, dismissed him to make further discoveries, but, after his departure, became, on reflection, more sensible of his danger, and gave orders to have the city and castle guarded, and his colleague summoned. Borlace, when he arrived, perceived the impropriety of dismissing O'Conolly, and sent messengers in search of him, who found him in the hands of the city watch, by whom he was taken up in the streets on suspicion. Being now

C H A P.
X. brought before the few members of the privy-council that were collected, he was allowed to take some repose, and then gave a clear and satisfactory information of the conspiracy. The council, on receiving this intelligence, instead of arresting the conspirators without delay, gave no directions to that effect till five o'clock the next morning, when MacMahon and Macguire were seized, but Moore, Byrne, and the other leaders, being, from the measures taken, suspicious of a discovery, made their escape. After some hesitation, MacMahon confessed before the council his being concerned in the plot, but boldly declared that the insurrection of that day was too mighty to be suppressed, and that his death would be severely revenged.

State of
Dublin
Castle.

Though the discovery of the plot prevented the castle from being taken by surprise, it might still have been taken by storm, since the guard allowed for its protection was scandalously insufficient. This shewed great neglect in the lords-justices, considering the valuable deposit committed to their care, for in the castle, at that time, were lodged fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, with a suitable quantity of matches and bullets, arms for a thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their full equipments. Yet all this important charge was guarded by eight infirm warders, and forty halberdeers, the usual attendants of the chief governors on occasions of parade, which was the entire garrison of the castle. The defence of it was now intrusted to Sir Francis Willoughby, a spirited and experienced officer, who got the petty guard increased by enlisting some disbanded soldiers, and making other exertions of that kind. The city was also committed to his care.

Intelli-
gence of
rebellion in
the north.

On the morning after the discovery a proclamation was issued by government, notifying that a dangerous conspiracy had been found out, and soon after intelligence arrived from the north of the rebellion having actually commenced. Great consternation was now raised among the protestant inhabitants of the city, and many of the English residing there embarked for their native country, preferring the danger of encountering the tempestuous seas on shipboard, to meeting with the rebels on shore. In this state of alarm the principal protestant merchants were prevailed on by Sir

John Temple, master of the rolls, to deposit the provisions they had in store, and other effects within the castle, on receiving a promise of reimbursement for the losses they might sustain in the public service. This afforded a seasonable supply to the army, which, in the present emergency, could not be otherwise obtained.

C H A P.
X.

Dispatches were now sent to several loyal persons in different parts, to exert themselves in favour of government in their respective places of residence, and particular directions were given to the sheriffs of the English pale to provide for the safety of that district, as suspicions were entertained of the great lords there, on account of their attachment to the catholic religion. Being thus called on, as they thought, to declare themselves, they appeared before the council, expressing their abhorrence of the rebellion, and demanding arms and ammunition for their defence against the rebels. Only a few, however, were granted to those most exposed to danger, under pretence of their scarcity. Sensible of the suspicions entertained of them, they seemed willing to find a cause of complaint against government, and expressed themselves dissatisfied with the words *Irish papists* in the proclamation, which might cast a reflection on their loyalty. In order to satisfy them in this point, a second explanatory proclamation was issued, excluding them from all charge. Still the suspicions of government were not allayed, for some time after, on getting assurance of succour from the English parliament, they not only recalled the arms they had given them, but ordered, by proclamation, all persons, under pain of death, except the usual inhabitants of Dublin, to leave the city in twenty-four hours, and not approach within two miles of it. Hence the catholics of the pale, whatsoever were their real inclinations, were certainly obliged either to pacify the rebels by contribution, or annex themselves to their party.

Catholics
of the pale
suspected.

The mode of sending dispatches to the loyal persons, intended for some time, to preserve the peace of Munster and Connaught, but in Leinster, it had not the desired effect; for the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, who had been deprived of their estates by Parsons, rose up in arms, and uniting with the rebels of Wexford and Carlow, committed great depredations in Leinster.

Insurrec-
tion in
Leinster.

C H A P.
X.

Success of
northern
rebels.

datations for a wide extent, and carried off great booty from the loyal inhabitants. In the continuance of their violence, they were encouraged by the daily information they received of the success of the insurrection in Ulster.

The northern conspirators, being punctual to their engagements, rose in rebellion in different quarters at the very time appointed. Sir Phelim O'Nial, the conductor of their operations, having, on the twenty-second of October, got admission by treachery into the fortress of Charlemont, took possession of it, and made a prisoner of lord Caulfield, the governor, an old officer, who lived on terms of intimacy with his Irish neighbours.

He then flew to Dungannon, which he seized, while his associates made their attack on various other garrisons. So active were they in their operations that within eight days, they had almost entire possession of all the northern counties, except Down and Armagh, of which they had only part, and had also possession of the counties of Leitrim and Longford. The towns of Derry, Colerain, Lisburn, Carrickfergus, and Enniskillen, with some inferior fortresses, resisted with success their tumultuous attacks. Enniskillen was preserved by the exertions of Sir William Cole, already noted for the information he afforded the lords-justices. In taking possession of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim some appearance of legal form was preserved, for the popish sheriffs summoned the people to arms, and demanded the different towns and forts to be formally delivered up to them.

The English inhabitants in the districts above mentioned having no apprehension of danger, neglected, on its appearance, either to fly to places of strength, or to join themselves in bodies for mutual aid, but made feeble efforts singly to defend their own places, and hence many of them fell into the hands of a ruthless enemy. Their possessions were then despoiled by crowds of plunderers, but so far the original plan of the insurrection was observed, for few were butchered in cold blood. They were either confined in prisons in the dismal expectation of being daily put to death, or were driven from their habitations naked and destitute, exposed to the rigour of an inclement season, fainting or

dying in the woods of cold and hunger, or crawling with CHAP.
X.
ghastly looks of famine to some places of refuge.

The leaders of the insurrection had recourse to different Forged
commis-
sion.
excuses for their conduct. Some said they had authority from the queen, who was a Roman catholic, and others made use of other pretences for their justification. Sir Phelim, on seizing the fortress of Charlemont, said he had directions from the English parliament for doing so, and afterwards pretended to have a commission from the king, showing a piece of parchment with a great seal which he had torn from a patent he got in the castle of Charlemont.

This leader and his associates, however, were now and Bold re-
sistance.
then stayed in their successful career. When the English, who had fled to different forts, recovered from their surprise, they took measures for their defence, and collecting themselves in bodies, not only at Carrickfergus, which was their principal asylum in Ulster, but in other places of strength, defeated the rebels in several skirmishes and assaults, at Dromore, Enniskillen, Castle Derrick in Tyrone, in different parts of Donegal, and other stations, and stormed lord MacGuire's own castle in Ferinanah.

During the course of their bold exertions, their spirits were highly increased by the arrival of fifteen hundred soldiers from Scotland, sent by the king for their aid, with arms, ammunition, and money. These were collected from disbanded regiments, by the unfortunate monarch himself, who, on receiving in that country an account of the insurrection, applied to the Scottish parliament for assistance, which, with all their abhorrence of popery, they refused under various pretences to afford him.

Though the rebels met with the different repulses above noticed, they were not discouraged by such partial defeats; and collecting themselves at Newry in a body of many thousands under Sir Phelim, they resolved to make an attack on the important post of Carrickfergus. But before they proceeded to the grand enterprise, they determined attempting to get possession of the Scottish settlement of Lisburn, from which they had been already repulsed, having soon abandoned the resolution of leaving the Scots unmolested. This town at the first assault was defended by seven hundred ill armed men, who

CHAP. repulsed two thousand of the rebels, but previously to the
X. second attempt got a reinforcement of nearly a thousand
 more under Sir Arthur Tyringham, who was assisted by Sir
 George Rawdon, a gallant officer, that arrived at the very mo-
 ment of danger. Against these Sir Phelim detached four thou-
 sand well appointed men, the first regularly formed body
 of insurgents, who made a furious attack on the twenty-
 eighth of November, and continued it with great obstinacy ;
 but their attack was sustained with cool intrepidity by the
 garrison, and repelled with such slaughter, that the rebels
 slain were equal to thrice the number of the troops that op-
 posed them. Frequently did the assailants pierce into the
 town, which they reduced to ashes, but were repulsed by
 the brave defenders in every attempt.

Cruel Mas- By this defeat and disappointment, with some others of
 sacres. the same kind, the savage breast of Sir Phelim being swell-
 ed into rage, urged him on to commit acts of treachery
 and horrid cruelty very shocking to relate. Sir William
 Brownlow surrendered Lurgan on condition of security to
 himself and the inhabitants in their persons and property,
 but the terms were basely violated ; all were instantly seiz-
 ed, and the whole town given up to plunder. Such acts of
 perfidy, however, were trivial, when compared to the cruel
 and barbarous deeds committed by orders of Sir Phelim.
 Transported into rage at every instance of ill success, he
 took a bloody revenge in return. On the repulse of his
 forces at the castle of Augher he gave orders to Mac Don-
 nel, his abominable agent, to massacre all the British pro-
 testants in three adjacent parishes. In consequence of the
 defeat at Lisburn lord Caulfield was murdered, and fifty
 others along with him, by the bloody poniards of the Irish.
 Their unhappy prisoners, confined in different quarters,
 were now brought out under pretence of conducting them
 to the next English settlements, and were goaded on like
 beasts by their merciless guards, who triumphed in their
 sufferings, and determined on the destruction of all those
 who had not already sunk under their tortures. Sometimes
 they inclosed them in a house or castle, which they set on
 fire, regardless of their cries, and with savage joy exulted
 over them in the horrible agonies of death. At other times

they plunged them into the first river they met on the way ; C H A P.
X.
a hundred and ninety they 'hurled from the bridge of Portadown. Irish ecclesiastics were seen present with them, encouraging the carnage ; and women, forgetful of the tenderness of their sex, pursued the English with execrations, and embrued their hands in their blood. Even children, after the example set before them, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoners.*

Under the sacred name of religion were all these enormities committed, and the horrid bigots, who thought themselves the avengers of Heaven, considered the tortures they inflicted on their unhappy victims to be only the commencement of the eternal torments they were to endure for their heresy in another world. Those who escaped the fury of these fiends had their imaginations so much possessed with the shocking spectacles of butchery and tortures before their eyes, that they paid a willing attention to every wondrous story they heard. Hence every idle tale of miraculous escapes from death, of miraculous judgments on murderers, of lakes and rivers of blood visibly perceived, of marks of slaughter not to be removed, of spirits chaunting hymns, of ghosts rising out of rivers shrieking out revenge, with such like fancies, was widely circulated, and implicitly believed.

The horrid deeds already noted, which were represented Acts of re-
taliatio. in the most aggravating manner, excited an universal abhorrence of the native Irish, and hence some acts of equal atrocity were committed by protestants by way of retaliation. The following instance is recorded. In the beginning of the succeeding year some Scottish soldiers of the garrison of Carrickfergus, inflamed by the dismal news conveyed to them, issued at night, it is said, from their quarters, and massacred in their beds thirty Irish families in the small adjacent district of Island Magee, who were entirely innocent of the rebellion.

* The particular instances of the refinements in torture exercised on the unhappy protestants, as mentioned by Sir John Temple, would be disgusting to the reader, and must therefore be omitted. It was common, he said, during the massacre, for the rebels to make parents execute their children, children their parents, wives their husbands, and husbands their wives, in hopes of thus preserving their own lives by their compliances, but without effect ; for when they had done so, they were constantly put to death.

CHAPTER XI.

Motives of the English parliament—Of the lords-justices—A parliament—Messengers to the king arrested—Insolence of Moore—Fugitives in Dublin—Severities of Coote—Defeat of Julian's-Town-bridge—Defection of Pale—Extension of the rebellion—Siege of Drogheda—Petty excursions—Siege of Drogheda raised—Vain repentance of the Pale—Selfish designs—Application of torture—Battle of Killybegs—Distress of the royal army—Scottish auxiliaries—Owen O'Neal—Foreign supplies.

CHAP.
XI.

*Motives of
the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment.*

IMMEDIATELY on receiving complete information of the plot, the lords-justices sent a messenger to England with the intelligence to the earl of Leicester, the lord-lieutenant, and another to the king at Edinburgh. His Majesty, being unable to make any effectual exertions himself by his prerogative, recommended the care of Ireland to the English parliament. Gratified with the authority thus afforded them, this formidable body affected great zeal on the occasion, expressed their abhorrence of the Irish insurgents, and voted large sums of money and men for their suppression. Under the same pretence they took arms from the royal stores, but in reality resolved to turn them against the king himself, and to employ all the other means of warfare they obtained to the same purpose. It was not, therefore, for their interest that the Irish rebellion, which afforded them such excuses, should be speedily suppressed.

*Of the
lords-justi-
ces.*

The lords-justices they found very willing instruments in promoting their designs, especially as they also had reasons for desiring a continuance of the rebellion. By this means they expected forfeitures would increase, of which they hoped to get a large share. Parsons in particular had this object in view, as he was cunning and avaricious, and made use of his colleague as a tool for effecting his own purpose. They therefore threw in the way every possible impediment to prevent the speedy termination of the rebellion. Proclamations, it is true, were issued by them, offering pardon to the rebels that should submit, but these offers were clogged

with so many exceptions and limitations, as to be rendered CHAP.
XI.
ineffectual. Afterwards they got directions from the English parliament to issue another proclamation in their name, with an offer of pardon to the rebels who submitted within a certain time, but they did not think fit to comply, on account of the inefficiency, as they said, of their former proclamations,

The Irish parliament was to meet in November, but the lords-justices, being resolved that it should not assemble at the time appointed, had it prorogued to the end of February. In this measure, however, they were opposed by certain lawyers, whose opinion was supported by the judges, declaring, that if it did not assemble at the day fixed, it was actually dissolved. They therefore were obliged to retract their prorogation, and allowed it to meet, but only for one day.

The assembly being accordingly convened, the houses A parlia-
ment. proceeded to consider the state of the nation, and to frame a protestation against the rebels; but they could not agree on the appellation that should be applied to the insurgents. Those whose estates were exposed to their depredations, or who were attached to them, would not consent that they should be called rebels, but proposed that they should be styled *discontented gentlemen*. The protestant party, however, being spirited and powerful, rejected this proposal, and by their support the declaration of parliament was drawn up with sufficient force and precision. Some members were then nominated to hold a conference with the rebels in Ulster and other quarters, on the causes of their taking up arms, and to make a report on these matters to the king, the council, or the parliament. It being found impossible that all these proceedings could be completed in one day, a second was with difficulty allowed, but no entreaties could prevail on the lords-justices to allow a longer continuance, which afforded just cause of complaint to persons of every description.

The lords and gentlemen who were averse to their conduct, and sincerely desirous of peace, commissioned lord Messengers
to the king
arrested Dillon to carry over a memorial from them to the king, containing charges against the present lords-justices, and

C H A P. XI. recommending the oppointment of lord Ormond to the government, with other salutary measures, which, they assured his majesty, would effect the reduction of Ireland by means of the resources the country afforded. The justices, having got intelligence of their design, communicated it to their friends the leading members of the English commons, by whose orders lord Dillon and his companion, lord Taafe, were seized in their way to the king, their papers suppressed and themselves confined as long as it was thought necessary to defeat the purpose for which they were employed.

Insolence
of Moore.

Encouraged by the misconduct of the justices, which excited so much discontent, the rebels entertained high hopes of success. Hence when the parliamentary deputies waited on Roger Moore, who lay at Dundalk with a body of two thousand five hundred ill armed men under his command, he treated them with disdain, rejected all overtures for an accommodation, and tore in pieces, with affected indignation, the order of the two houses for accomplishing a treaty, on account of the injurious manner in which it was expressed. He now exerted himself with great diligence to make the rebels adhere firmly to the general cause. He dignified his followers with the name of the Catholic Army; put them in mind of the virulence of the English parliament against popery; advised them to suppress all national distinctions, and to rest the entire merits of their cause on their civil and religious rights as loyal subjects to the king.

Fugitives
in Dublin.

The city of Dublin, at this time, exhibited a melancholy picture of the wretched fugitives of every age and condition, who sought shelter from their merciless enemies. Though numbers of these helpless creatures, who had escaped the daggers of the assassins, being stript of their clothes, perished on the road of cold, fatigue, and hunger, yet a great many succeeded in gaining the metropolis, the object of their desire; but there, alas! indifferent accommodations were afforded to them. Hence so many of them died, that it was found necessary to take additional ground for their interment.

Severities
of Coote.

The lords-justices, confining themselves in the capital, and providing troops for their own security, took but little care of other parts, which were, of course, exposed to the as-

saults of the rebels, who drove the protestants from their possessions in the counties of Leitrim, Carlow, Wexford, and Wicklow, and extended their ravages even to the vicinity of Dublin. Provoked by these repeated insults, the lords-justices were at length obliged to exert themselves a little, and employed Sir Charles Coote in their service, an experienced soldier, but insolent and cruel, and possessed of illiberal prejudices against the Irish, on account of the ravages made on his estates, which he had acquired by various projects. Being sent to repel some insurgents from the castle of Wicklow, which they had invested, he completely executed his commission, drove them to the mountains, but, in return for their depredations, committed such indiscriminate slaughter in the town, as equalled in cruelty the barbarous deeds of the native Irish.

Notwithstanding their defeats in Ulster; the northern rebels collected a considerable force and proceeded to form the siege of Drogheda. Immediately on this movement being discovered, a small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed chiefly of the despoiled English, and, of course, undisciplined, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garrison; but, within three miles of Drogheda, at Julian's-Town-bridge, it was attacked by three thousand five hundred rebels, and defeated. The loss, indeed, was insignificant, except of arms and ammunition, but the effect produced was not inconsiderable, as it gave the rebels fresh spirit, and caused a great addition to their numbers, which were still more increased by whole companies and regiments of the royal army deserting, and joining their standards. Consternation spread now through the English army, especially in the capital, which, with the castle, might have been easily taken, had the rebels marched thither without delay; but they lost the opportunity by amusing themselves with investing the town of Drogheda. In the mean while, the lords-justices recalled Sir Charles Coote from Wicklow, who forced his way through one thousand of the sept of O'Toole, that opposed him, and on his return was created governor of Dublin, which he exerted himself to secure against every possible attempt.

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Defection
of the pale.

The defeat of the royal army at Julian's-Town-bridge, with the misconduct of administration, obtained for the insurgents the accession of the catholics of the pale, the most respectable body of that persuasion in Ireland. Deprived of their arms, and excluded from the metropolis by the lords-justices, they were obliged to soothe the rebels by contribution, and being offended at the suspicions entertained of them, they paid a willing attention to the specious arguments offered by the rebels to seduce them. In order to determine them to take arms, Roger Moore exerted himself with great zeal, but applied particularly, with insinuating address, to lord Gormanstown, a nobleman of great power and influence. He represented the danger to which their civil and religious liberties were exposed, the obstinate determination of a puritanic faction to frustrate the gracious intentions of his majesty towards his Irish subjects; the inveteracy they expressed against all catholics; the injurious exclusion of Irish students from the inns of court; and inveighed against the insolence and tyranny of the lords-justices, who exercised their power just to effect their own emolument, and to gratify the passions of an English faction. These representations made an impression on the inhabitants of the pale, especially after the defeat above mentioned. Lord Gormanstown then issued an order to the sheriff of Meath to collect the inhabitants of that county; and accordingly, on the beginning of December, several lords, with about a thousand gentlemen, assembled on an eminence called the Hill-of-Croft. Here they were met, as had been previously concerted, by Moore and other rebel leaders, accompanied by a detachment of their forces. The people of Meath advanced, and Gormanstown, with great solemnity, demanded for what purpose they had entered the pale in arms. Moore replied that they had taken arms for the purpose of maintaining the king's prerogative, and asserting the freedom of their country. Being required again to declare, if these and no other were his real motives, he continued to make the same asseveration of his sincerity. Gormanstown then with his party declared, that they would unite with them for so useful a

purpose, and exert themselves against all those who refused their aid to such a cause.

In consequence of this confederacy the catholic lords determined to renounce the authority of government, but in order to justify their revolt it was thought necessary to transmit an apology to the king, and having done so, they proceeded to raise their forces. They did not, however, coalesce with the northern rebels, who were stained with such crimes, but were formed into a separate independent army, of which lord Gormanstown was declared commander-in-chief, and earl Fingal general of horse. Their revolt the lords-justices affected to consider a matter of little moment; but they, in order to make their justification more complete, beside the apology sent to the king, published a manifesto, expressing the grievances they endured from the puritanic faction, declaring that they took arms merely for self-defence, and soliciting a speedy and effectual accommodation. The manifesto, being composed in a style of moderation and loyalty, and displaying the danger of utter extermination to which they were exposed on account of their religion, had a powerful effect on all the catholics of Ireland.

Hence the flame of insurrection spread rapidly around. All Connaught rose in rebellion except the county of Galway, which was with difficulty prevented by the exertions and influence of lord Clanricarde. In Munster, the first symptoms of commotion were some petty ravages and robberies, which were punished by the lord-president, Sir William Saint Leger, with barbarous severity, and without making any distinction between the innocent and guilty. Desirous no doubt of a pretence for insurrection, the chiefs of the disaffected made strong remonstrances to him on the rigour of his executions; but he received their remonstrances with contempt and disdain, declaring they were all rebels, and should be hanged. They therefore took up arms, offering self-preservation as their plea, and proceeded to seize the different strong holds in the province. The city of Killenny was taken by lord Mountgarret, and every place of strength in the county, and in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, in a few days fell into the hands of the re-

Extension
of the re-
bellion.

CHAP. bels. The county of Clare was overrun by the O'Briens
XI. in defiance of their chief the earl of Thomond.

The southern chieftains, having thus began the insurrection, confined their hostilities, it must be owned, to open warfare, and used all their endeavours to prevent their savage followers from committing acts of cruelty, or even plunder. But their generous exertions were not sufficiently successful, nor was it possible, on all occasions, to hinder the fanatic mob from slaughtering the unhappy heretics when they got them in their power. It must indeed be acknowledged, that great provocation was excited by the cruelties of the violent Saint Leger and his train, who, in the exercise of martial law, spared neither age, sex, nor condition; nor could the indignation and remonstrances of his countrymen restrain his excesses. Strenuous zeal he certainly possessed in a high degree, and, when the situation of the province was desperate, he derived material benefit from a spirit of discontent that happily arose among the leaders of the insurgents. Lord Viscount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of considerable power in the county of Cork, refused to be commanded by lord Mountgarret, insisting that his county should have a particular general. Offended at the indignity thus shewed him, Mountgarret retired in disgust to the county of Kilkenny; and the nobles of Munster, being left to their own conduct, continued their dissensions, which afforded time to Saint Leger to collect and discipline his troops for the next campaign.

Siege of
Drogheda.

During these transactions in Munster, the rebels in Ulster, and those of Leinster who joined them, were wholly engaged in the siege of Drogheda. This town had been governed by Sir Faithful Fortescue, who resigned his situation in disgust on being disappointed in receiving suitable supplies, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Tichburn, a more adventurous officer. He used every exertion in his power to strengthen the garrison, but it was still thought inadequate to defend the town against an army of twenty thousand men. Happily this army, having begun their enterprise in a severe winter, were possessed neither of the skill nor means requisite for carrying on a regular siege at such a season. Destitute not only of artillery, ammunition,

and other implements of war, but even of tents, they were obliged to take shelter in the neighbouring villages, and wait for any opportunity that chance might offer to surprise the town. Even this disposition was sufficient to reduce the garrison to great distress, and caused many to desert. At length a small supply of victuals and ammunition, sent from Dublin, obtained an entrance, and Tichburne at the same time made exertions suitable to the difficulty of his situation. He was not only resolute in enduring hardship of every kind, but active in his skirmishes, and successful in his excursions for forage and provisions, which enabled him to maintain the town until a fresh supply of bread, and four companies of foot were sent to his relief.

While he was thus actively engaged, the lords-justices Petty excursions. were employed in an occupation more interesting to them than the relief of Drogheda, the conviction of the lords and gentlemen involved in the rebellion, a measure previously necessary for the forfeiture of their estates. While their thoughts were directed to this agreeable object, the arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, induced them to exhibit somewhat more activity in their military operations. Coote was sent to dispossess a party of rebels stationed in the village of Swords, and rigidly executed the commands he had received to pillage, burn, and destroy, laying waste the whole country around. Ormond was dispatched with two thousand foot and three hundred horse in an expedition against the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare and the adjacent counties had collected their chief force. This service he effected, but executed his cruel orders less rigidly than Coote, and yet with such severity as caused lord Gormanstown to remonstrate to him by letter, threatening to retaliate on his wife and children. Ormond, in his reply, reproached him with his disloyalty, and, disregarding his threat, used the following words, dictated by a true nobleness of mind. "My wife and children," said he, "are in your power, should they receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children, which would not only be base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate my wife and children."

CHAP. Ormond was again commissioned to drive the rebels from
 XI a station called Kilslaghen, within seven miles of Dublin.
 His orders were to burn and destroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms; but he proceeded with moderation. The army were certainly capable of more important services, as a second reinforcement of fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse had arrived from England; but the government thought fit to employ the forces in such petty excursions as those above mentioned, instead of attempting to relieve the gallant garrison of Drogheda, surrounded with enemies, and exposed to the extremity both of toil and famine.

Siege of
 Drogheda
 raised.

Frequently were the lords-justices urged to make this attempt, but refused their consent, under various pretences. Having, however, by laying waste all the country about Dublin, produced a dearth in the city, they were then obliged to send the soldiers out to seek for provisions on the enemy's quarters. Accordingly Ormond was commissioned to lead three thousand foot and five hundred horse on a ravaging expedition towards the Boyne, but received strict orders not to pass over that river. On getting intelligence of this movement, Sir Phelim resolved to raise the siege of Drogheda, for he had been repeatedly foiled in his attempt by the spirited exertions of Sir Henry Tichburne, and lost many of his men, and some of his best officers by the active sallies of the brave garrison. Having now raised the siege, he retreated with speed to the northern provinces, of which Ormond informed the lords-justices, urging them at the same time to get liberty to take advantage of the rebels' dismay, and pursue them to Newry. This request was positively denied by them, without giving any reason; but it is well known it was from the apprehension that too speedy a termination of the rebellion might lessen the forfeitures they expected. On his arrival in Drogheda he got the officers of the garrison to join him in repeating the same request, but without effect. His operations being thus confined, the rebels recovered from their fright, and returned to invest Drogheda, but a considerable body of them was defeated at Atherdee by Tichburne, who got a reinforcement of five hundred men from Ormond, with the permission of the lords.

justices, and pursued them to Dundalk. Repelling them C H A P.
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from this town, he was eager to prosecute his advantages, but was prevented by being refused the necessary provisions by the lords-justices.

The advantages so easily gained over the rebels, who timidly fled at the first alarm of danger, afforded the gentlemen of the pale just reason to apprehend that no reliance could be placed on them as associates in the general cause. They therefore resolved to break off the connection, and accordingly applied to Ormond, on his march to Drogheda, soliciting the protection of government. In consequence of this application Ormond desired instructions how to act towards those who offered to surrender. In return he got orders not to admit any of them into his presence, but have them all seized by the soldiers, and sent prisoners to Dublin. Hence many of respectable characters, who had entered into no armed association with the rebels, but had rather suffered by their extortions, and had on different occasions protected the English, were indiscriminately confined with the guilty, and denied all access to the lords-justices.

Such severities were exercised in order to prevent others from submitting, which might increase the number of forfeitures, so agreeable to the schemes both of the Irish governors, and of their friends in the English commons. The latter, being desirous to raise money for promoting their designs against the King, had a bill for investing such persons with Irish lands as should advance certain sums for the ostensible purpose of reducing the Irish rebels, which they might afterwards apply towards effecting the grand object they had in view. Of course, the greater number of forfeitures the more money would be wanted. On the first intelligence they received of the Irish insurrection they certainly displayed an extraordinary zeal for suppressing it, and accompanied their expressions of abhorrence with a vote of two thousand pounds and twelve thousand men for that useful purpose. Yet their supplies were slow and scanty, for their thoughts were chiefly engaged in providing money for effecting their schemes against the king, which was their principal object.

Their gradual opposition to him had now at length pro-

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XI.

Applica-
tion of tor-
ture.

ceeded to the point of breaking out into open war, and his adversaries were very assiduous to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. They therefore endeavoured to make it appear, that his declarations of zeal for suppressing the Irish rebellion were not sincere, and again revived the rumour of some commission clandestinely granted to the rebels. The Irish chief governors were active agents in this stratagem, and also impatient to get some more discoveries made, and to involve, if possible, the principal families of the pale in the original conspiracy. For these purposes they resolved to supply the want of legal evidence by putting some prisoners to the rack. The persons to whom they applied torture were Hugh MacMahon, who had been seized on the information of O'Connolly; Sir John Reid, once a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, but engaged in no rebellious schemes; Sir John Barnwell, a gentleman venerable both for his character and age, who had never acted with the rebels. From the confession of these unhappy men, thus questioned on the rack, they could obtain no material information for their purpose. They seemed, indeed, ashamed of their cruelty to the latter, as they permitted him to reside in Dublin, and protected his estates from the ravages of the military.

Some parts of their examinations, however, they thought fit to select, and transmit to their friends in England, where rumours were spread abroad, that secrets of great moment, and reflecting highly on the king's honour, had been discovered. Of these secrets no particulars were divulged, nor were the king's friends allowed to see the examinations, and an extraordinary reserve was certainly shewn on the occasion; which is a clear proof that no charge of countenancing the rebels could be established against Charles. Such surmises, however, made it necessary for him to express his detestation of the insurgents; and accordingly he declared to the two houses of parliament his resolution of going to Ireland without delay to chastise the rebels, and applying some of his own private property to that purpose; but he was prevented by a peremptory and insolent message from the English commons.

This impediment disappointed all the expectations of the catholics of the pale, who had reposed their last hopes of reconciliation with government on the presence of his majesty in the country; and having now no resource for safety but in arms, they united with the forces of lord Mountgarret. The confederates, amounting to eight thousand foot, and some troops of horse, made an attack on Ormond at Kilrush, on his return from the county of Kildare, to which he had been sent with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, on a petty expedition. Their assault was furious, but confused and unsteady, which caused a more easy impression to be made on them. At the first charge their left wing was broken, and, though the right maintained the contest for some time, and retired in good order to a neighbouring eminence, it soon fled thence in dismay. In this conflict seven hundred of them were slain, and the rest dispersed; but Ormond, having neither provisions nor ammunition, was unable to pursue his advantage. This victory was so agreeable to the English commons that they voted him on that account a jewel of five hundred pounds value, and requested the lords to unite with them in a petition to his majesty to create him a knight of the garter.

CHAP.
XI.

Battle of
Kilrush.

Such partial successes were in reality of little avail, as the rebellion had extended through all the provinces, which were reduced almost to their ancient state of barbarism by the destructive excursions of the insurgents, who pursued no regular plan of warfare, but followed, each body of them, their own leader. To their desultory attacks the soldiers of the royal army were too often incapable of making an effectual resistance, being provided neither with money, clothes, nor provisions for military operations. Reinforcements of men arrived, indeed, now and then from England, which induced the government to exert themselves a little, but they only employed the forces, as usual, in petty excursions, and in one of these, Sir Charles Coote was killed near Trim. Another active leader, Saint Leger, the president of Munster, having received reinforcements from England, made a successful attack on the rebels, but was unable to pursue his victory for want of subsistence to his men, which so much preyed upon his spirits, that he took a lingering complaint, of which he died.

Distress of
the royal
army.

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XI.

Scottish
auxiliaries.

Of the reinforcements that came from England none were sent to Ulster, where the rebels had still considerable power. But in order to contribute to the reduction of that province, a treaty had been a long time in agitation with the Scottish parliament for the aid of ten thousand men. The treaty was at length concluded with them, and by the terms of it the entire management of the war in that quarter was to be committed to their general. About the middle of April the first division landed under Robert Munroe, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, and took possession of Carrickfergus. Joined by eighteen hundred foot, and some cavalry of the royal army, they advanced to Newry, of which the castle was soon reduced, and also that of Carlingford, which was delivered up to Sir Henry Tichburne. On account of these successes, Sir Phelim found it necessary to abandon Armagh, which he set on fire in the rage of disappointment, and allowed his barbarous followers to massacre the unhappy English in their power. He then retired to Charlemont, while many of his associates, among whom were some persons of distinction, fled in consternation to various places of concealment.

Munroe could not be prevailed on to pursue his advantage, in which he no doubt followed his private instructions; but having left a garrison of three hundred men in Newry, where he put sixty men and eighty women to death, he retired to Carrickfergus. From that town he made an excursion into the country, and insidiously seized the earl of Antrim, a catholic, but a loyal man, and committed his castle and all his houses to the custody of the Scottish forces. His troops now followed no other employment but ravaging the adjacent country, and exporting vast herds of cattle to Scotland, which afforded the rebels an opportunity of collecting themselves under Sir Phelim. The task of opposing them, as the Scottish troops were otherwise employed, devolved now on the English forces in Ulster, who were commanded by many valiant officers. Among these Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart were eminently distinguished. Engaging Sir Phelim, they defeated him in a se-

vere conflict, with the loss of five hundred slain, and many wounded and taken prisoners. CHAP.
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Dispirited by ill success, and destitute of all sort of supplies, the rebel chieftains resolved in a council to abandon the cause as desperate, and seek for shelter in foreign countries. At this moment of despondency, intelligence was received that Owen O'Neal, who had been so long expected, had at length landed in the county of Donegal from Dunkirk, with a hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Elated by this intelligence, the rebel leaders sent a guard to attend their favourite general, who conducted him in triumph to the fort of Charlemont. This officer had served with reputation in the Austrian and Spanish armies, was remarkable for prudence, sobriety and caution, which appeared to more advantage when contrasted by the intemperance and levity of his kinsman, Sir Phelim, who was now superseded in the command of the northern Irish. Owen O'-
Neal.

Immediately on assuming his authority, the new general expressed his detestation of the barbarities committed by Sir Phelim and his followers, and dismissed the surviving prisoners in safety to Dundalk. Having every reason to expect that he would be besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make suitable preparations for his defence. This he was allowed to do without interruption, and also to collect and discipline his men, as the Scottish forces lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him. In the month of August, the earl of Leven arrived with the rest of the Scottish army, which was now increased to ten thousand men, and the whole force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse. With such a force, apparently so irresistible, it seemed only necessary for Leven, who had the sole command, to accept the submission of the rebels. Passing over the Bann, he proceeded to the county of Tyrone, and thence sent a letter to Owen O'Neal, expressing his concern, that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland for the support of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had a better reason for coming to the relief of his country, than his lordship could offer for marching into England against his king. Then, after

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this short correspondence, as if it were the sole cause of his march, his lordship retired, and resigning the command to Munroe, returned to Scotland. Munroe remained inactive, and no supplies having arrived from England, either for the Scottish or English troops, they were soon exposed to the miseries of cold and famine.

Foreign
supplies.

O'Neal continued to form his army, and the rebels in every province, were allowed to collect and increase their force. Besides, they got supplies of various kinds from abroad, of which cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, afforded a large quantity. The town of Wexford being in their possession, two more vessels from Dunkirk arrived in that port with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of lord Gormanstown, an officer of experience and reputation, followed in a ship of war, accompanied by two frigates and six other vessels, laden with heavy ordnance, field-pieces, and other warlike stores, with a number of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other vessels from Nantes, Saint Maloes, and Rochelle soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, and brought many Irish officers, and veteran soldiers discharged from the French service. By these foreign vessels were taken several English vessels, carrying provisions, which tended to increase the general scarcity. Thus while the English endured various wants and distresses, the rebels were plentifully supplied with every necessary for war. It was expected that they would immediately proceed to some vigorous operations, but they had their thoughts at that time employed on an object that seemed of general utility to their cause.

CHAPTER XII.

Convention of the Irish—Divisions among the English—The bad effects—Negociation with the insurgents—An armistice—Troops sent to England—Ormond chief governor—The covenant—Negotiation with the king—Continued with Ormond—Taken up by Glamorgan—Suspended by Renuncini—By papers discovered—Treaty concluded.

SINCE the commencement of the rebellion, the Irish had acted without any general concert, of which they soon perceived the defect, and therefore devised a scheme of uniting their associates in the several provinces, to give a form of authority to their procedure, and to enforce obedience and submission. Accordingly, the popish prelate of Armagh first summoned his clergy to a provincial synod, which was afterwards succeeded by a general one that sat in Kilkenny in the month of May. In this synod, as well as in the former one, they declared the war carried on by catholics for the defence of their religion against sectaries and puritans, to be just and lawful, and appointed a general assembly of the whole nation to meet at Kilkenny, in the month of October.

When the time for this convention arrived, the popish prelates and clergy, the popish deputies from the several counties and principal towns assembled in that city. The assembly assumed a parliamentary form, consisting of two orders, the one the temporal peers and prelates, the other the representative deputies; but both sat in the same chamber. The administration of justice they assumed to themselves by deputation, and appointed in the different counties other courts with subordinate jurisdiction. The direction of the confederacy was entrusted to a council consisting of twenty-four persons, selected from the general convention, and denominated the *Supreme Council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland*. To this assembly was committed the conduct of the war, the command of all officers civil and military, and for their honour and security, a

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XII.

Conven-
tion of the
Irish.

CHAP. guard was assigned of five hundred foot, and two hundred
XII. horse.

The convention declared their firm resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church, agreeably to the great charter, and accepted the common law of England, and statutes of Ireland, as their rule of government, so far as they were not contrary to the Roman catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberties of Ireland. They commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the king, and to maintain his just prerogatives, though they at the same time utterly denied and renounced the Irish government administered by a *malignant party* in Dublin. In conformity to their declarations, an oath of association was appointed to be taken by all their party through the kingdom, in which, among other articles, they made a promise to obey the orders of the supreme council, and to decline all pardon and protection from the enemy, unless the majority of the council would give their consent. The oath was deduced from a form afforded by the ecclesiastical synod, who had denounced excommunication against all who should refuse to take it, and inflicted severe censures against all their adherents who should commit murder and other cruelties.

The generals appointed for the command of the war were, Owen O'Neal for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, and colonel John Burke for Connaught, as the chief command of this province was reserved for lord Clanricarde, whom they expected to join them; but he continued unshaken in his loyalty, though assailed by entreaties, menaces, and excommunications of the clergy. Lord Castlehaven, however, became a convert to their cause, and obtained a command, for which he had some excuse, as government afforded him just cause of offence. The majority of the convention seemed desirous that the civil war should be considered as commencing with their assembly, as they wished to be untainted with the murders already committed, and therefore paid little attention to the original leaders (whose followers were guilty of such cruelties), not only to Sir Phelim, but even to Roger Moore, who was of a very different description. The death of the latter, which took

place soon after, was, it is thought, not displeasing to the assembly, as some danger might have arisen from his resentment.

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XII.

While the Irish confederates were gaining strength by union, the English became every day more weak by the divisions that subsisted among them, according to their attachment to the two parties in England, then on the point of hostility, the adherents of the parliament or of the king. Both before and after the commencement of the civil war between them, which took place in 1641, each party was assiduous in their endeavours to gain over the army of Ireland. This powerful body, being influenced by the earl of Ormond, was in general attached to the royal cause, but the lords-justices being violent adherents of the parliament, used every endeavour to restrain his authority. His majesty, on the contrary, thought fit to increase it, by rendering him independent of them, and afforded him additional dignity, by creating him a marquis. Thus the king endeavoured to gain the army by his favours to their general, while the English commons, being still more assiduous, exerted themselves not only to attach them to their side, but also to direct the whole administration of Ireland. For that purpose they sent two of their most active members over to Dublin, men habituated to all the artifices of faction, who found very zealous partizans in the lords-justices and the creatures of their council. These parliamentary agents were allowed a seat in the privy-council, without his majesty's warrant, but as the sword was now drawn against him, his authority was of course disregarded. Their conduct was such as might be expected, for, instead of exerting themselves against the common enemy, they endeavoured to embarrass all those who were attached to the royal cause, and particularly the marquis of Ormond. They also endeavoured, as well as the lords-justices, to prevent any account of the affairs of Ireland being transmitted either to the king or the English parliament, but by their own representations. They therefore exerted themselves to prevent the officers of the troops in Leinster from sending to the king a statement of their grievances, which they had resolved to do. Active in their

Divisions
among the
English.

CHAP. exertions, they visited every garrison, and strove all in
XII. their power to divert them from their purpose, by entreaties,
 and by the menace of their being totally abandoned by the
 English parliament. Yet they could not prevail; for,
 after much difficulty and delay, the address of the troops
 was at length presented to the king, whose unhappy situa-
 tion only admitted him to express his concern for their suf-
 ferings, and his thanks for their services.

Engaged now in open war with his parliament, it would
 be greatly for his advantage to produce a pacification in
 Ireland, as, in that case, an army might be drawn hence
 to England to assist him in his dangerous contest. The
 leaders of the Irish insurrection seemed not averse to this
 measure, and had previously applied for a cessation of
 arms, until their complaints should be decided by their
 sovereign; but the lords-justices paid no regard to their
 application. Afterwards the general assembly at Kilkenny
 applied to the marquis of Ormond to the same effect, and
 accordingly a commission was issued, under the great seal
 of England, directed to the marquis, the earl of Clanric-
 card, and five others, to confer with the principal recu-
 sants, and transmit their proposals. Affairs having now
 taken a turn very contrary both to the inclinations and
 exertions of the parliamentary agents, they found it expe-
 dient to make their escape from the kingdom, especially as
 the king, encouraged by the attachment of the soldiers, had
 sent orders to have them arrested.

1643. As the negociation proposed was very adverse to the
 wishes of the lords-justices they endeavoured to prevent its
 taking effect, not only by refusing a cessation of arms, but
 by engaging the troops in active hostilities, contrary to
 their usual mode. Accordingly they appointed an army
 for the reduction of Ross and Wexford, over which they
 intended to put lord Lisle, one of their own party, but
 Ormond, having previously recommended the measure in
 vain, insisted on taking the command himself, to which
 they could not object. However, they resolved, in viola-
 tion of their express promise, not to afford him the neces-
 sary supplies, and he, after driving the enemy from several
 posts, and laying siege to Ross, being disappointed of these,

was obliged to raise the siege, as he had only three days' provisions. He was now sixty miles from Dublin, and had Preston's superior army to encounter, who occupied a strong defile in his way, with six thousand foot and above six hundred horse. In this dismal situation he was saved from utter ruin by the rashness of his opponent. Confident of easily overcoming an enemy enfeebled by cold and hunger, Preston descended from his strong post into the plain to oppose him. Of this favourable opportunity Ormond took the advantage, and having disposed his troops with skill, made a spirited attack on him, which the Irish troops were unable to sustain, and being put in confusion, they were defeated with the loss of five hundred, and all their ammunition and baggage. Their complete overthrow was prevented by the misconduct of the English cavalry under lord Lisle, who, after routing the enemy, rode off from the engagement, and never returned to the pursuit.

Ormond having succeeded in his retreat to Dublin, found the city in a wretched state under the government of the lords-justices, whose treachery had nearly proved his ruin. The inhabitants he found exhausted in maintaining the army, and the soldiers still inadequately supplied with necessities, and mutinous on account of the disappointments and distresses they endured. Informed of these calamities, and relying on the attachment of the military, the king had Parsons, the most exceptionable of the governors, removed, and Sir Henry Tichburne substituted in his room. The bad effects.

This change tended somewhat to clear the way for the proposed accommodation with the confederate Irish, which the king was desirous to get accomplished, and the state of the country required. Negotiation with the insurgents. Ormond having met some commissioners of the supreme council for this purpose, they exhibited a remonstrance with a statement of grievances, and proposed that a free parliament should be convened, the legality of the present one being disputed. With this proposal Ormond thought he could not comply, as it would be dangerous to summon a new parliament, while the confederate Irish, being in possession of most of the counties and great towns, had the election completely in their power. He therefore told them, that he had no assurances from

CHAP
XII.

the king that a new parliament should be convened, but that in this point the confederates must rely entirely on his majesty's gracious pleasure. On his part he demanded, as a preliminary, that, if a cessation of hostilities should take place, the confederates should contribute, in some reasonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's troops in Ireland. Afterwards, when he was treating with the convention on the same subject, he got them to recede from the expectation of a new parliament, and to agree to the proposition of a supply. But as this intended armistice would expose him, he knew, to odium among the puritans, he recommended the government and council to suggest some other mode for the preservation of the kingdom, and he would break off all proceedings; but this they did not attempt to do. Again he proposed to carry on the war if they allowed him, for that purpose, ten thousand pounds, one half in money and the other in provisions, but with this proposal they could not comply. Hence he proceeded to meet the agents of the Irish convention at Castle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare.

At this meeting the agents were less compliant than before, and proposed terms to which Ormond could not possibly agree. Their present confidence, he supposed, arose from the prosperous situation of their affairs, and particularly from the successful progress of Preston, who, having collected his scattered troops, took several places, and over-ran the whole province of Leinster. Therefore, as any advantage gained by the king's troops would tend to abate their pride, he suspended the negociation with an intent to force Preston to an engagement. But this general cautiously retreated before him, and Ormond, not being sufficiently provided for a pursuit, was obliged to lead his army back to Dublin. Thus he became confirmed in his opinion, that a cessation of hostilities was absolutely necessary in the present state of affairs.

The insurgents, in the mean while, continued their successes. Lord Castlehaven took some forts in the county of Carlow and Queen's-county. Owen O'Neal having gained some advantages over Munroe, advanced to Westmeath, and repelled an attack made on him in that quarter; Preston

extended his excursions almost to the capital, and both were busily employed, as well as the rest of their leaders, in securing the harvest, and filling their magazines with corn. On the contrary, the king's troops, from their distress, became mutinous, and instead of protecting, began to plunder the people, who fled at their approach. Scattered thus loosely over the country in search of provisions they were exposed to frequent attacks. In a case of this kind lord Inchiquin's troops in Munster met with a signal defeat. In Connaught lord Clanricarde could not preserve the important fort of Galway from the rebels, and expected that the few others in his hands would meet the same fate. He was also threatened with excommunication by the Romish clergy for not taking the oath of association.

These successes, and the critical state of the king's affairs both in England and Ireland, made it absolutely necessary for him to conclude, if possible, an armistice with the insurgents. With an intent then to have all obstructions to his favourite scheme removed, he sent orders to Dublin to have Parsons, Loftus, Temple and Meredith, the chief partizans of the English parliament, committed to prison on a charge of high crimes and misdemeanors. Ormond now got a new commission under the great seal of Ireland, empowering him to treat for a cessation of hostilities for one year, on such terms as should be judged expedient. In the renewal of the treaty he had various difficulties to encounter, as the confederates became confident from their successes, and from their getting the harvest secured for their subsistence. Besides, they were urged to resist an accommodation, not only by the Irish clergy, who derived immoderate hopes from the confusion of the country, but especially by the pope's minister, father Scarampi, who brought along with him supplies of money and ammunition, and also a bull, by which a general jubilee and plenary absolution was granted to all those who had taken arms in defence of the catholic religion. However, notwithstanding the importunities of this zealous ecclesiastic, the wiser and more moderate catholics exerted themselves to promote pacific measures, being well assured, that if the puritanic party reduced the king, they would be treated with great rigour. At length it was

An armistice.

CHAP. resolved, that the agents of the confederacy should meet
XII. the marquis of Ormond at Sigginstown, near Naas. They
 now became more compliant, and receded from the demand
 of an immediate dissolution of parliament. The point of
 settling the quarters of both parties, during the cessation,
 which took some time, being at length adjusted, the Irish
 agreed to grant the king thirty thousand pounds, one half
 in money, at several payments, and the other half in cattle.
 On the fifteenth of September the treaty was signed by the
 marquis and the Irish commissioners, was confirmed by the
 justices and council, and notified by proclamation to the
 whole kingdom.

Troops
 sent to
 England.

The treaty of cessation was severely censured both by the
 violent catholics and the puritans; by the former, as re-
 straining them in their full career of success, and by the
 latter as encouraging papist murderers, the objects of their
 abhorrence. The king flattered himself with the hope that
 the cessation would be of great use to him in his present
 emergency; and accordingly two thousand men were
 sent to his aid by Ormond to North Wales, and some regi-
 ments by Inchiquin, to the west of England; but these,
 though all protestants, and many of them Englishmen by
 birth, were represented in England, by the partisans of the
 parliament, as Irish rebels still reeking with the blood of
 the protestants. This misrepresentation was transmitted to
 London, by Sir William Brereton, the commander for the
 parliament in North Wales, at the very time that he, in
 his letters to the officers of these troops, was extolling them
 for their bravery and zeal for the protestant religion, and
 endeavouring to seduce them from the service of the king.
 Disappointed in his attempt, he fled before them, and near
 Chester was routed by them under the command of lord
 Byron, who had received a reinforcement from Ireland,
 of fourteen hundred and forty men. Byron pursued him
 to Nantwich, and laid siege to the town; but the tide of
 his success now turned. Attacked by Sir Thomas Fairfax,
 the parliamentary general, he was completely defeated,
 twelve hundred of his men, and most of his principal officers
 were made prisoners, and all his artillery, baggage, and am-
 munition, fell into the hands of the enemy. During the

engagement, some of the private soldiers deserted to Fair-fax, and after it many of the privates enlisted in his army. Byron retired to Chester, and again received reinforcements, but nothing of moment was effected.

Ormond was now appointed lord-lieutenant, and had a variety of difficulties to encounter in his new situation. The Irish confederates did not in general strictly observe the armistice, but committed outrages in different parts, and some parties of them would not allow any armistice at all, nor obey the orders of the supreme council, until they were compelled by force. The subsidies they had promised were by no means punctually paid, which provoked the English soldiers to plunder. Between these and the Irish troops various disputes arose about quarters, to settle which, and to induce the confederates to observe their different engagements, caused the marquis much trouble. It was still more vexatious for him to find, after the king had exposed himself to odium by seeking their aid, that they refused, with all their pompous professions of loyalty, to send any troops to England to his assistance, while they allowed the emissaries of France and Spain to raise levies for the services of their respective courts. The entreaties of Ormond had no effect on them, even at the time he urged them to save themselves from ruin by resisting their bitter enemies, the English puritans. They supposed it would be more for their advantage not to afford the king any effectual assistance, as his encreasing distresses, in that case, must oblige him to purchase their aid by more important concessions.

Thus was Ormond embarrassed in the southern provinces, but in the north he had still greater difficulties to encounter. Munroe disclaimed the treaty, and insisted on continuing hostilities, in obedience to the orders he had received from the Scottish parliament, who were attached to the king's enemies. In order to gain the aid and favour of that nation, a solemn league and covenant, framed at Edinburgh by commissioners from the English parliament, was subscribed by that assembly, and by all their friends through England, in which they "engaged to defend one another against all opponents, and to endeavour to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, together

Ormond
chief-governor.

The cove-
nant.

CHAP. with the king's authority." The covenant was exactly
XII. suitable to the sentiments of the Scottish troops in Ulster,
 1644. who were very willing to sign it ; but to prevail on the English officers to do so, who were generally attached to the royal cause, might be attended with some difficulty. In order to effect this, Owen O'Conolly, now become an adherent of the English parliament, brought over letters from that body to the British colonels in Ulster, with promises of their arrears being paid, and ample provision made for their future maintenance, on condition of their disclaiming the armistice, and taking the covenant. With this condition the Scottish officers were of course ready to comply, but those of the English regiments began to hesitate. Ormond now thought it necessary to interpose ; he urged them strenuously to resist, and furnished the colonels with a proclamation issued by the Irish government against the covenant, which he advised them to read at the head of their regiments, but they refused to take an active part, and yet returned rather evasive answers to the agents of the English parliament, from whom they expected some supplies.

At this critical time, ten thousand pounds, with a supply of clothing and provision, was sent to Munroe from Scotland for the use of his army, and at the same time arrived four ministers of the Scottish church, appointed to exert themselves in favour of the covenant. These holy men were very strenuous in the business for which they were employed. They went from parish to parish through the counties of Down and Antrim, enforcing and tendering the covenant, which they declared as necessary for salvation as the sacrament itself. Such active zeal was attended with suitable success ; not only the Scottish troops, and the people from that country, but many of the English in Ulster, soldiers, officers, gentry, peasants, eagerly contended to assume an engagement so essential to their eternal welfare. Notwithstanding the menaces of government, and the opposition of some colonels, who read the proclamations against it at the head of their regiments, private men and subalterns secretly took it, and afterwards boldly avowed it. Even they, who had appeared attached to the royal cause, were caught by the popular infection, and those who refused to engage in this holy vow, were considered

as impious wretches, undeserving of the rights of humanity, ^{C H A P.} or the common necessities of life. XII.

Munroe at first affected great moderation, pretending to use no violence against those who refused to take the oath, and leaving them entirely to the ministers of the kirk to convince them by their pious exhortations; but afterwards he threw off the mask, on receiving a commission from the English parliament, under their broad seal, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster subject to their authority, both Scottish and English, and oppose all the enemies of the covenanters in open war. On hearing of this new authority he had received, the royalists assembled at Belfast, in order to consult what answer they would give to his demand of obedience; but during their consultation he came suddenly on them, and surprised the town. Afterwards he marched to Lisburn, but the English officers of the garrison, being prepared to resist him, he was foiled in the attempt. A war seemed now on the point of commencing between the British forces in Ulster, but, on consideration, both parties found it would be for their mutual interest to enter into a compromise. Accordingly, it was agreed that the English should not be obliged to take any oath contrary to their consciences, until they represented their scruples to the English parliament; that they should have the same benefit as the Scots of provisions and privileges, and should join them in carrying on the war against the Irish rebels, unless they were prevented by the king's express order.

Alarmed at this union of the British forces in Ulster, the confederate Irish at Kilkenny detached Castlehaven to the support of Owen O'Neal, and privately offered Ormond the command of their forces, as royalists, which they affected to consider themselves, at the same time requiring him to proclaim the Scots rebels for their scandalous breach of the armistice. These proposals Ormond could not with propriety accept, and yet was unwilling to offend the Irish, from whom he expected supplies, of which he stood in great need. In this dilemma he entered into a negociation with them to amuse them, pleading as his excuse for not declaring against the Scots, that in a point of such moment he must wait for secret instructions from the king. In the

C H A P. mean while he proposed that if the Irish afforded him pay
XII. and subsistence for six thousand foot and six hundred horse
of the royal army, he would restrain the Scots within due bounds. In this negociation some time was spent, and while it was going on all apprehension of Munroe ceased; for after attempting some hostilities to justify his declarations, he shrunk down into his usual inactivity, having neither the inclination nor ability to prosecute the war with vigour.

Negocia-
tion with
the king.
1544.

While the earl of Ormond was contending with a variety of difficulties, proceeding from the causes already mentioned, an Irish negociation of great importance was opened at Oxford. By the articles of cessation it had been agreed that the confederates should send agents to the king to treat about a final peace, on the accomplishment of which event Charles rested his hopes of a powerful reinforcement from Ireland. Accordingly, after much delay the agents appeared before the king at that city, on the twenty-third of March 1544, and made a formal notification of their terms. They insisted on the public establishment of the popish mode of worship in Ireland, on the reversal of all attainders and grants of land since the first year of Elizabeth, with a variety of such exorbitant demands as required in reality the extinction of the English power in that kingdom. Of course the king and his ministers, however desirous of a final settlement, were obliged to declare, that they could hold no farther conference with them. They then proposed terms which they styled moderate and reasonable. Among these was the absolute freedom of their religion; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poynings' law; seminaries in Ireland for the education of catholic lawyers and clergy; a release of debts, and a general act of oblivion, with an abolition of all acts and attainders against catholics since August 1641; a formal act to render the Irish parliament completely independent of the English one; the exclusion from this parliament of every one who had not an estate and residence in Ireland. On receiving satisfaction in these points they offered to send ten thousand men to assist the king in suppressing the unnatural rebellion in England.

Though many of their demands were inadmissible, yet Charles stood so much in need of the assistance they offered, that he consented to accept their memorial, as productive of a peace by mutual concessions. He considered, however, that the protestant party in Ireland should give their consent, and accordingly he directed the Irish privy-council to send over some persons of experience to assist in the treaty. In compliance with his desire they nominated archbishop Usher and eight others, out of whom the king selected four; but the zealous protestants, being dissatisfied with this mode, held a meeting at the house of the earl of Kildare, and appointed a deputation of six persons, who arrived at Oxford before the other, and presented their petition.

The demands on their side were equally extravagant with those first offered by the commissioners from the confederate catholics. They required that the statutes against recusants should be rigidly enforced, that the whole party should be disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by protestants, punished for their offences without pardon or mitigation, that the forfeited estates should be taken into the king's hands, and, after satisfaction made to those who claimed under former acts of parliament, that the residue should be granted to British planters. On these terms they insisted, and refused in the smallest degree to recede from them, though it was impossible to execute them in the present circumstance of the country.

When they had stated their terms, the commissioners from the Irish privy-council arrived, and expressed the highest disapprobation of the extravagance of the demands made by the others. Yet when they stated their own, they made proposals themselves that were utterly impracticable; for instance, that the recusants should be all disarmed, the penal statutes enforced, and the like.

Thus, by the violence of the opposite parties, was the king disappointed of getting that treaty completed, from which he had expectations of essential aid in the present critical situation of his affairs. The chief blame he ascribed to the puritans, for he entertained an extravagant opinion of the catholics' zeal for his service, which was owing to the suggestions of the queen, who persuaded this unhappy prince

CHAP. XII. that, in the present conflict of parties, they were the only subjects on whose fidelity he could rely. He was therefore very condescending in his behaviour towards the agents of the confederate Irish, and made several concessions and conciliatory promises to them. Urged by his necessities, he pathetically advised them against delay in getting the treaty accomplished, assuring them that if his enemies succeeded against him, they would easily extirpate both their nation and religion, for which they had such abhorrence. Soothed by his condescension, the agents owned with suitable modesty, that his majesty could not, in their opinion, under the present circumstances, make any further concessions, and hoped that the general assembly, when informed of his real situation, would moderate their demands, though they themselves had no authority to recede.

Continued
with Or-
mond.

Charles being well assured that important concessions must be granted to the confederate Irish before they would consent to take arms in his behalf, and being unacquainted with the terms that would be pleasing to his own party, resolved, in his perplexity, to shift the odium of negotiation from himself on the marquis of Ormond. He therefore sent him a commission to make a definitive peace with the catholics of Ireland on such conditions as he would judge agreeable to the public welfare. Involved in difficulties by this commission, the marquis found them still increased by the revolt of lord Inchiquin in Munster, who, taking offence at the king, joined the parliamentary party, and attacked the catholics in that province, but was opposed with success by lord Castlehaven, who shut him up in Cork.

1645.

During the continuance of these hostilities Ormond was involved in a long protracted negotiation with the Irish confederates, in the management of which, very much against his inclination, he was left entirely to the direction of his own judgment, without receiving any specific instructions from the king or his ministers. In September 1644 he met the commissioners of these confederates, in order to fix on a day for a regular meeting, but, by the violence of the commissioners, the meeting, was put off from time to time, until May 1645, without any prospect of a peace being concluded. Charles in the mean while became more eager for

it than ever, as all hopes of accommodation with the parliament had now vanished, and therefore he desired Ormond to make peace with the Irish *whatever it should cost*, so that his protestant subjects should be secured, and the royal authority in Ireland preserved. At the same time he desired him not to divulge these instructions, unless urged by necessity.

Ormond was now more perplexed than ever, as the confederates would expect greater concessions from a countryman than could with propriety be granted. He therefore petitioned to be removed from the government. Anxious to retain so faithful a servant, Charles endeavoured to reconcile him to his situation, by conferring on him new favours, and by giving him additional authority. He also endeavoured to soothe the opposite parties. He had the order annulled, made by Parsons, excluding recusants from parliament, as being an encroachment on his prerogative, and to prevent the clamour of protestants at this measure, got a bill passed in Ireland remitting the protestant clergy and laity all debts due the crown for four years part.

Yet his endeavours to conciliate the confederate catholics did not make them more tractable. Elated by their successes, and the hopes of important aid from abroad, they became luke-warm about the treaty. In order to shew their consequence in foreign countries, from whom they expected this aid, they sent fourteen hundred men to the service of France, and made levies for Spain at the very time that they denied Ormond's earnest request of two thousand men for the king's assistance in Scotland. This reluctance shewed an unfavourable disposition in the general assembly of Kilkenny, before whom the treaty was to be discussed. The assembly met for that purpose on the fifteenth of May 1645, and received Ormond's proposals with such apparent temper, that there seemed no obstacle to an accommodation except the penal laws. It was soon, however, discovered that it was made up of discordant materials. The moderate party were indeed sincerely desirous of an accommodation, but those of the contrary disposition, who were too numerous, were extremely averse to it. Among these the deputies of Ulster were most strenuous in their opposition, for they

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were afraid, if it should take place, they would be deprived of the possessions and advantages they had acquired, and might be brought to punishment for their crimes. The violence of this party was increased by the flaming zeal of the clergy now sitting in convocation, who were also apprehensive of losing the properties of the protestant ministers which they had in their hands, and declaimed with great violence against every agreement that would diminish the power or splendour of the catholic establishment in Ireland. At this intemperance the general assembly affected to be displeased, declaring their proceedings to be seditious and treacherous, and yet acceded to their wishes, by refusing to allow the churches taken from the protestant clergy to be restored to them.

During the discussion of the several points proposed, an account arrived of the dreadful overthrow sustained by the king's army at Naseby, by the parliamentary forces under Cromwel and Fairfax. This news, instead of urging the confederates to an immediate accommodation, as their interests and the king's were so closely connected, caused them to rise still higher in their demands, on the supposition, that they could extort any concessions they pleased from the unhappy monarch in his present distressed situation. Ormond then stated to them briefly the sum of concessions that the utmost extremity of distress could force from the king, among which was a repeal of the penal statutes against recusants. They found, however, that he was not confined to these, for the king's cabinet, after his defeat at Naseby, having fallen into the hands of the victors, the several papers contained in it were published, whence the confederates discovered Ormond's private instructions to conclude a peace *whatever it may cost*, and republished the letter with severe animadversions on his conduct. Their discussions were of course interrupted by this discovery, but another person soon arrived, after long expectation, who was better prepared to gratify their wishes.

Edward, earl of Glamorgan, son of the marquis of Worcester, a man of a sanguine temper, was strongly attached to the king, for whose service he had raised a body of troops, at his own and his father's expense.

In return, he was at present honoured with singular marks of the royal favour, and had more splendid promises made him. Though he was a vain man, and of a weak intellect, yet as he had an insinuating address, was a zealous catholic, and allied to some of the most powerful families in Ireland, he was considered by the king as a proper person to be sent to that country, to remove the obstacles that retarded the aid from the confederate Irish, which he had so long desired. While he was preparing for his journey, he amused the king with high expectations. He promised to lead six thousand Irish forces into England in the month of June; to reinforce them with four thousand royalists of Wales; to block up Milford-haven with his transports; to advance thirty thousand pounds, with a considerable quantity of arms, and to raise thirty thousand more. But he was detained too long in England, to fulfil these vast engagements, and did not arrive in Ireland till the end of July.

Repairing to Kilkenny, with suitable recommendations, especially with one from Ormond, he met with a very favourable reception from the confederates. He then produced two commissions from the king, of nearly the same date, allowing him full power to regulate a treaty. From a nobleman of their own religion, and nearly allied to themselves, possessed of such authority, the confederates had sanguine expectations, and were certainly not disappointed. The terms of the treaty did not require much discussion; they were adjusted privately between the two parties, and it was concluded on the twenty-fifth of August. Glamorgan exerted himself to expedite the business, as he was eager to lead ten thousand Irish into England to restore the king's authority, which he thought he could do. By this treaty the Roman worship, and even the papal authority, was virtually established in Ireland, but the articles were to be kept secret until circumstances should allow their disclosure.

Having now settled the matter privately with respect to religion, which was the chief point, the confederates continued to hold a public negotiation with Ormond. The articles of a civil nature were soon settled, but when they made their extravagant demands with respect to religion, Ormond refused to comply, which obliged them to recede, and con-

CHAP. sent to more moderate concessions. They then proposed, XII. that no clause in this treaty, should preclude the catholics from such further graces, as the king might be pleased to grant, which was accepted, but of these graces they were already assured by their private agreement with Glamorgan. Ten thousand men were then ordered by a vote of the general assembly for the royal service, and the king every moment expected their embarkation, but new difficulties arose to defeat the purposes of this unhappy prince.

Suspended
by Renunc-
cini.

Previous to the arrival of Glamorgan, and during the course of the negotiation with Ormond, a numerous party of the confederates, sensible of the necessity of supporting the king, had discovered a solicitude to restore the public peace, and were contented with a free enjoyment of their religion without the splendour of a public establishment. The clergy, however, inveighed with acrimony against this desertion of the church, and their agents at Rome represented the danger which might thence accrue to the interests of their religion. In order to avert this danger Renunccini, the pope's nuncio, archbishop of Fermo, was directed to hasten to Ireland. This prelate was polite, agreeable and eloquent, regular and even austere in his mode of life, but at the same time passionate, ambitious and vain, distinguished by an intemperate zeal for popery, and possessed with an opinion that he was destined by Providence for the conversion of the western islands from heresy. He was particularly instructed by the pope to unite the catholic bishops of Ireland in a determined declaration of war, until their religion should be completely established, and the government of the kingdom committed to a catholic lord-lieutenant.

On his arrival in Ireland, he was treated with respect by government, in order to get his consent to the measures already adopted. Without delay, he hastened to Kilkenny, and by the hands of Glamorgan received a very condescending letter from the king. Glamorgan addressed himself to him with great deference, and explained the nature of his commission to treat with the Irish. Yet this singular attention shewn him, instead of mollifying, tended only to increase his obstinacy. He objected both to the public and private treaty; to the articles of religion as being entirely

insufficient, and strongly condemned the concealment of these, while the political articles were published, with which foreigners of their persuasion would be justly offended. When he found his arguments could not bring over the supreme council to his opinion, who were influenced by the more moderate catholics, he resolved to give them every opposition in his power. He induced eight Irish prelates, at a private meeting in Kilkenny, to join him in a protestation against the peace, and prevailed on Glamorgan, who had a profound respect for his spiritual authority, to sign another instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty, engaging that the lord-lieutenant should be a catholic, that catholic bishops should sit in parliament, that the universities should be under their direction, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council should continue until all the private articles were ratified. The completion, however, of this scheme met with an interruption by an accidental discovery.

Sir Charles Coote, a strenuous partisan of the English parliament, being commissioned by them to command in Connaught, prevailed on a detachment of Munroe's army to follow him, and with them he took possession of the town of Sligo. While the confederates and Ormond were both sending troops to resist him for violating the armistice, the catholic archbishop of Tuam, a warlike churchman, with what forces he could collect made a bold attack on the town, which he had nearly taken, but was at length repulsed and slain. In his baggage, picked up in the pursuit, was found a copy of Glamorgan's private treaty with the confederates, a copy also of his commission, and of other papers relating to that transaction.

By papers
discovered.

These authentic papers were immediately sent to the English parliament, by whom they were published, and afforded cause of triumph to the king's enemies, who had still declared, that he designed to establish popery. His ministers, therefore, in Ireland, under the apprehension of his protestant subjects deserting him, were obliged to use every exertion to remove the imputation. Accordingly, lord Digby, one of his secretaries of state, who had been sent to Ireland as an assistant to Ormond, seized Glamorgan in Dublin, on a charge of high treason, for presuming,

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on a pretended authority from the king, to do that, to which, he declared, his majesty would not consent, if it were even to redeem his crown and save his family from destruction. On this charge he was committed to custody, and examined by a committee of the privy council, before whom he insisted on the authenticity of his commission, but candidly owned, that he had received no specific instructions from the king, who was not bound to observe any articles he might disapprove, declaring, at the same time, that in the whole transaction he was actuated by a zeal for his majesty's interest, especially by an ardent desire for obtaining for him the Irish auxiliaries of which he stood so much in need.

The general assembly of Kilkenny was at first highly offended at his confinement, but, on recollection, they perceived the severity was affected, and shown him with an intent to retain the attachment of the king's protestant subjects. In a few days they applied to Ormond for his release, assuring him, that without it neither the troops could be sent to his majesty's aid, nor the treaty completed. This application had its due effect. The resentment of the governor and council now subsided, and they liberated him on his giving security for his appearance when required, being well satisfied, they said, that his proceedings were owing to an indiscreet zeal for his majesty's service. They then sent him to Kilkenny, with a commission to treat with the confederates, in particular to expedite the conclusion of the treaty with Ormond, which had been so long in agitation. Accordingly the negociation was resumed between the marquis and their agents, Darcy and Browne; but difficulties still occurred. Digby protested, with great vehemence, against the religious articles of Glamorgan's treaty, and the king publicly disclaimed his giving him authority to consent to these, allowing him only, he said, a commission to raise troops in Ireland. But in his private letters to this nobleman he acknowledges the contrary, expressing his royal approbation of his conduct; a duplicity that certainly did not redound to his honour. This opposition, either real or affected, gave great offence to the confederates, and tended to delay a final settlement.

The opposition, however, of the nuncio was more strenuous and sincere; he exerted himself to prevent any accommodation, unless with such extravagant terms in favour of his own religion as he had already proposed. He then produced the plan of a treaty perfectly suitable to his wishes, formed, he said, between the pope and the queen. Of this treaty he easily induced the most of the clergy to sign their acceptance, and proposed it in due form to the general assembly, as the joint production of the pope and the queen; and stating, that he daily expected to receive the original from Rome. Yet his pompous proposal had not the desired effect; the general assembly would not accept his treaty; he prevailed, indeed, on a few deputies, with Glamorgan, now a zealous adherent, to sign a stipulation that no peace should be concluded before the first of May 1646. In the mean while a new general assembly was called, who did not think themselves bound to adhere to the agreement of a few members of a former one, and, proceeding to the business without delay, concluded the peace on the twenty-eight of March.

By the terms of it the extravagant demands for an establishment of the catholic religion was not conceded, but a complete toleration was afforded. The various articles, indeed, are too numerous to be distinctly specified, but a few may be noted. A new oath was to be substituted in place of the oath of supremacy; all acts and attainders against catholics for five years past were to be annulled; they were allowed to keep their own estates now in their possession, and the Irish to hold the forts, towns, and districts within their quarters. In return, they engaged to transport ten thousand troops to England for the king's service in six weeks; but, on failure of doing so, without a sufficient reason, the engagement on the part of the king was to be void.

Ormond now began to prepare for the embarkation of the first division of the Irish troops, but it was found that they had been delayed until the time of employing them with advantage was past. Chester, which they were intended to relieve, had now surrendered to the parliamentary forces, and the royal cause became hopeless.

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Treaty
concluded.

1646.

CHAPTER XIII

Sad condition of Charles—Opposition to the treaty—Victory of Owen O'Neal—Violence of the nuncio and clergy—Triumph of the nuncio—Siege of Dublin—Disunion of leaders—Ormond's negotiations—His treaty with parliament—His departure—Diversity of schemes—Preston's defeat at Dungan-hill—Exertions of Inchiquin—His victory at Knocknoness—Confederates in disorder—Joined by Inchiquin—Opposition of the nuncio—Catholics at war with each other—Ormond's return—His treaty concluded—His justification—The prince proclaimed king—The nuncio's departure—Overtures of Ormond—Conduct of Rupert—Its effect—Difficulties of Ormond—His design on Dublin—His defeat at Rathmines.

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Sad condition of Charles.

THE tide of success having turned to the contrary direction, the unhappy Charles fled in disguise at the approach of Fairfax with his victorious troops, and, on the fifth of May, delivered himself to the Scottish forces at Newark. In this deplorable condition of the king the Irish auxiliaries could afford him no relief, and therefore it was proposed to Ormond by the confederates, that it would be expedient to employ their forces against Inchiquin and the adherents of the parliament in Munster, as it would serve the king better to clear Ireland of his enemies, than to make a desperate attempt to assist him in England. But Ormond refused to consent to this measure until his treaty was published, and that of Glamorgan suppressed. To this they were unwilling to agree; but being apprehensive that Ormond would join the parliamentary party, they at length complied. While they were debating this business, Ormond received an order from the king to enter into no conditions with the Irish, by which the publication of the treaty was of course suspended.

They were, however, soon informed by a letter from the prince of Wales, that the order was extorted from the captive monarch by force. The difficulty being now removed, the articles of the treaty were ratified by proclamation on the twenty-ninth of July.

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The treaty of peace, which, after such tedious negotiation, had been at length brought about, in no one particular was found to suit the purpose intended. It was delayed so long until the aid it was to afford the king in England could be of no avail; it was despised by the adherents of the covenant in Ulster, and of the English parliament in Munster, whose favourite plan was the extirpation of the Irish race and popery; by many of the Irish race it was abhorred, who were eager for the extirpation of the English colonists and heresy; but above all others it was odious to the nuncio, who aimed at the complete subjection of Ireland to the papal see. Disappointed in his attempts on Preston's army, who adhered to the confederates, he applied to Owen O'Neal, and the Ulster forces, who were offended with the supreme council, and therefore they were easily prevailed on to declare against the peace. The zeal of O'Neal was increased by a large sum of money given him by the nuncio, and the promise of much more in future.

Opposition
to the treat-
ty.

The followers of this leader consisted mostly of barbarous rovers called *creaghts*, whose depredations caused the council of Kilkenny to oppose them by an armed force, and having collected of these, about the end of May, a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, he advanced towards Armagh. Apprehensive of an attack on some of the British garrisons, Munroe followed him with an army of six thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry, under his command. Arriving at Armagh at midnight he was informed that the Irish general lay seven miles off at the village of Benburb, posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and the river Blackwater on his right. At day-break he marched from Armagh, and crossing the river at a ford in view of O'Neal, advanced to attack him; but this cautious general, amusing him with skirmishes during the day, deferred the battle till evening, when he saw the sun shine in the enemy's face. At this time Munroe, mistaking a detachment of the Irish for some succour he expected, was

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Owen
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 Of this favourable moment, the Irish general took the advantage, and instantly attacked the Scottish cavalry with great fury, which was broke by the sudden onset, and being driven back on the infantry, the whole was put to flight. In this defeat, three thousand of the Scottish army were slain, their artillery, most of their tents, baggage, and provisions taken, with the loss of only seventy on the side of the Irish. The only resistance they met was from an English regiment commanded by lord Blaney, which maintained their post, until almost all of them fell with their valiant commander. Had the rest imitated their example, the victory would not have been so easily gained. His army being increased to ten thousand by this success, O'Neal continued the pursuit of the routed foe, and threatened the reduction of the whole province; but in the midst of his victorious career, he was stopped by a message from the nuncio, who called him into Leinster to oppose the peace.

Violence
 of the nun-
 cio and
 clergy.

Relying on such support, the adherents of the nuncio became confident, and prevented the proclamation of the peace in several parts. At Limerick the mayor and heralds, in attempting to execute their office, were attacked by a mob, headed by the clergy, and wounded, some mortally, and committed to prison for ten days. For this outrage the clergy got the nuncio's benediction. At a meeting of ecclesiastics in Waterford, which he summoned, excommunication was denounced against all who promoted the treaty, and a new oath of association formed, by which they bound themselves not to adhere to any peace but such as would be approved of by the Irish clergy convened in a general assembly.

Submissive to their spiritual instructors, the ignorant multitude exclaimed against any peace but such as would be agreeable to the clergy, whose arrogance was increased by the supreme council attempting to soothe them, instead of enforcing their authority. Alarmed at the blind obedience of the mob, and of Owen O'Neal to the orders of the nuncio; at the ambiguity of Preston's conduct, part of whose army had already deserted to the clergy; at the progress of Inchiquin, with his parliamentary forces, in Mun-

ster, the council earnestly urged the lord-lieutenant to proceed to Kilkenny to assist them in their endeavours to maintain the treaty. Accordingly, he proceeded at the head of of two thousand men, of whom five hundred were cavalry, accompanied by the marquis of Clanricarde, and lord Digby, and on his arrival at Kilkenny was received with all due respect, and apparent demonstrations of joy. But he soon perceived that his attempting to reconcile the refractory would be ineffectual, and besides got some news that alarmed him; for he was informed that the nuncio had prevailed on Preston to join O'Neal, and that, by his desire, both these generals were proceeding with their forces to intercept him on his return. This intelligence urged him to make his escape with all speed, which he effected, and by forced marches arrived at the capital.

Such was the influence of the nuncio, who soon after, by his own authority, dissolved the constitution formed by the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. Entering the city in regal pomp, this powerful ecclesiastic committed to prison the members of the supreme council, with others who promoted the peace, and established a council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, nominated by himself. Of this council he became president, modelled the armies, appointed the officers, and, in the fulness of his authority, determined and commanded at his pleasure. Lord Muskerry he deposed and imprisoned, and in his place created his obsequious adherent, Glamorgan, general of Munster. He even promised him the lieutenancy of Ireland, as soon as Ormond should be driven from the capital, of which he was quite certain.

In obedience to his orders, Preston and O'Neal proceeded with their united forces to lay siege to Dublin, but a jealousy broke out between these generals. Preston thought the nuncio was partial to O'Neal, and the latter was offended with the former, because the gentry of Leinster applied to Preston to protect them from the ravages of his troops. However, the united army continued their march towards the capital. In this city certainly sufficient zeal was displayed, and every possible preparation made for a siege; but the lord-lieutenant was sensible of his inability to sus-

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Triumph
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cio.

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Dublin,

CHAP. tain it, from the want of supplies of every kind, of money,
XIII. provisions, and ammunition. He had already got twenty-three thousand pounds by a mortgage on his estates, which was expended in the public service, and had received two thousand more from his tenants at Kilkenny, which served just to purchase subsistence for a few days. In the mean while the confederate generals advanced towards Dublin at the head of sixteen thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, and when they approached the capital they sent the marquis of Ormond their propositions, to which an immediate answer was required. They demanded that the exercise of the Romish religion should be as free and public in all the English garrisons as in Paris or Brussels, and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and other places in the English quarters should be garrisoned by catholics. Though surrounded with difficulties, Ormond disdained to return an answer to such insolent proposals. He had just thirty barrels of gunpowder supplied him by a parliamentary ship, which might enable him to make some resistance. Sensible that he could place no reliance on the Irish generals, he resolved, as the last expedient, to apply to the English parliament for succours. After different proposals it was at length agreed that he should, for due considerations, resign his government and garrisons to commissioners of the English parliament, and when this was settled, three thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin.

Disunion
of leaders.

In the mean while, the besieging armies approached and took their stations around that city with a very formidable appearance. But the danger to be apprehended from them was greater in show than reality. The jealousy between the two generals still subsisted, which caused each to oppose the other's plans, and their animosities were communicated to the officers of the respective armies, who expressed their abhorrence of each other in insulting language. One party was upbraided by their opponents with being northerns and barbarians, the other with being the descendants of Englishmen, and threatened with total extirpation, when the dominion of Ireland should revert to its rightful possessors, the original Irish. Hence, instead of carrying on the siege

in concert, they were ready to draw the sword against each other. O'Neal affected to be apprehensive of some insidious designs from Preston, whom the nuncio, who was attached to the other, had resolved to take into custody, and was with difficulty prevented. Of these dissensions lord Digby attempted to take the advantage, and prevailed on Clanricarde to go and lay certain proposals before the nuncio and council. These seemed very satisfactory to the moderate catholics, but were opposed by the nuncio. Of course a strong debate took place between them; but in the midst of it an account came, that the parliamentary forces had landed in Dublin. On this they started from the council. O'Neal decamped in the night with his troops; the supreme council hasted to Kilkenny, and the nuncio followed with all speed. Preston and his officers, indeed, kept their ground, continuing their negociations with Clanricarde.

Ormond now had more leisure to treat with the commissioners of the English parliament on the resignation of his government; but as he had some hopes of a successful issue with Preston, he objected to their terms as not being sufficiently precise, and could not consent to resign until he received the king's permission, and they received more specific instructions from their employers. They offered him, it is true, if his estates did not produce so much, two thousand pounds a year of a pension, but he required an immediate supply of three thousand pounds for the maintenance of his men. Dissatisfied with his conditions, they re-embarked their troops, and carried them to Ulster.

While he was discussing the different points with these, he was also carrying on the negociation with Preston, to whom Clanricarde and Digby offered articles, to which Ormond had strong objections; as, for instance, that the penal laws should be repealed, the churches left in the possession of the catholics, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; that he should obey all orders in their favour received from the queen or prince of Wales, or such as secretary Digby would declare to be the king's *free* will and pleasure; that Preston's troops should be admitted into the king's garrisons; particularly into Dublin; that Preston was to have from Ormond the commission of lieutenant-general, under the

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marquis of Clanricarde, who was to be commander in chief of the catholic forces. Such terms had frequently been rejected by Ormond with disdain, but he was strongly urged by Clanricarde and Digby to adopt them, of whom the former was an open, and the latter a concealed, catholic. Tired with their importunities, he was at length obliged to give nearly a full consent to the whole. Clanricarde and Preston now received their commissions, and the latter set off on his march to seize Kilkenny and Waterford, in which he was to be assisted by the chief-governor, who was to follow, and join him with all his forces.

Preston, however, had not proceeded far in his march, till a messenger met him from the nuncio, ordering him to stop and disperse his army, or, if he disobeyed, denouncing excommunication against him and all his followers. Terrified by this threat, the bigot instantly obeyed, and sent off a letter to Clanricarde, who proceeded with the lieutenant, renouncing his engagements on some frivolous pretences. Ormond, indeed, was not disappointed by his recantation, for he had no dependence on his adhering to his agreement, but he resolved to await the result of a general assembly at Kilkenny, which was soon to meet. At this assembly the interests of the nuncio and the clergy prevailed, and resolutions passed by which popery was completely established with extravagant privileges, and the treaty of peace declared void.

His treaty
with par-
liament.

All hopes from the Irish had now ceased, and how disagreeable soever it might be to his inclinations, Ormond found there was no other alternative for him but resigning his authority to the English parliament. Accordingly, with the concurrence of the privy council, and the Irish parliament, a resolution was taken to that effect. The confederates, on hearing it, made new proposals, which still were inadmissible, and again they had an opportunity of preventing its taking place, when the queen sent Leyburn, her chaplain, under the name of Winter Grant, with directions to use every endeavour to effect an accommodation, but, by the influence of the nuncio, their present demands were in substance the same as before. In the mean while, Ormond had the treaty concluded with the parliament,

which was signed on the twenty-ninth of June. Four persons of consequence, among whom was his second son, afterwards earl of Arran, were sent to England as hostages for the observance of his stipulations. He engaged that the king's garrisons, stores, and the like, should be delivered to commissioners of parliament on the twenty-eighth of the next month, or sooner, if required, on their giving four days notice. On their part they engaged, among other conditions, that recusants, not guilty of rebellion, should be secure, during their good behaviour ; that those of Ormond's friends who chose might leave Ireland along with him ; that he should be protected himself in England, on his paying due obedience to the orders of parliament ; and, that they would pay him at present three thousand pounds, out of the sum, amounting, as they owned, to nearly fourteen thousand, laid out by him on the king's services, and would give security for the remainder.

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Scarcely had the treaty been signed when the commissioners of parliament, by their own authority alone, forbade the liturgy, and commanded the directory to be used in all places of public worship within the city. In the suburbs, indeed, their inhibition was not so strictly enforced, as the established mode of worship was continued in the university. Their bigotry was almost as great as that of the confederate Irish, who would not tolerate the protestants in any places subject to their jurisdiction, and when they expected their dominion would extend over the whole kingdom, they disputed whether the king should be allowed one chapel in the capital. Such was the intolerance of those men, who made such a clamour if the least restraint were put on themselves in the exercise of their own religion. From this violent zeal flowed, as will appear, the most of the calamities that both they and the loyal protestants sustained at that period. The most moderate of the catholics, and even Preston himself, began now to see their error in not making a compromise with Ormond, from whose departure they saw a dismal prospect before them, when the supreme power would be lodged in the hands of the parliamentary adherents, their inveterate enemies. They, therefore, earnestly entreated him to continue in the kingdom, but their appli-

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cation was too late, and their sincerity very justly suspected. Urged by the parliamentary commissioners to deliver up the symbols of his authority, and seeing no use in continuing any longer in the country, after his open resignation, he embarked for England without delay, and landed at Bristol.

Diversi-
ty of
schemes.

On his departure colonel Michael Jones was appointed by the parliament governor of Dublin, and commander of their forces in Leinster. In opposition to him different armies were arranged, but, fortunately for him, the leaders were not united in the pursuit of the same object. Owen O'Neal and his barbarous followers, being averse both to the king and parliament, were devoted to the nuncio. The catholic army in Leinster, under Preston, and of Munster, under lord Muskerry, (who had succeeded Glamorgan in the command) being sensible of their former errors, were anxious for Ormond's return, but hostile to the parliament. The Scots in Ulster being offended at some proceedings of the parliamentary party in England, were disaffected to their adherents here, but at the same time inveterate in their enmity to the Irish. Inchiquin, in Munster, was incensed at some attempts of the parliament to remove him from his command at the time lord Lisle resided there, with a species of authority which they had conferred on him. Such was the state of confusion in which the country was involved by the contests of different armies, and the clashing pretensions of different leaders pursuing their own schemes.

Preston's
defeat at
Dungan-
hill.

Assailed by so many enemies the parliamentary forces exerted themselves with an energy suitable to the perilous situation in which they were placed. Preston, advancing into the English quarters at the head of seven thousand foot and a thousand horse, reduced Naas and some other parts, and also gained some advantages over Jones, who marched out to oppose him. Encouraged by this success, he laid siege to Trim, and, as Jones was proceeding to its relief, he turned suddenly about, and endeavoured by a rapid march to surprise Dublin in his absence; but he could not effect his object, for his opponent, pursuing him with great ardour, overtook him, and, at a place called Dungan-

hill, the armies came to an engagement. By means of some reinforcements from Ulster the English troops were nearly equal to the Irish, and rushing on them with intrepidity, inflamed by fanatical abhorrence, though they observed neither ranks nor order, obtained a bloody victory. Preston, having fled to Carlow with his cavalry, stopped there to collect the shattered remains of his infantry, while Jones, unable to pursue for want of provisions, returned with the arms, artillery, and baggage of the enemy, and also with a number of prisoners, of whom some were of high rank.

Strange as it may seem, this signal defeat was agreeable to the nuncio and his partisans, as they apprehended, in case of Preston's success, the recall of Ormond, and the subversion of their fantastical projects. However, they found it necessary to summon O'Neal from Connaught to the defence of Leinster, to whom Preston, by an order of the supreme council, was obliged to resign the most of the forces he had remaining.

On account of his defeat, the preservation of the Munster army was an object of great importance: and therefore lord Taafe, to whom Muskerry resigned the command, found it necessary to act with caution, and avoid a battle with Inchiquin. On the contrary, this general was obliged to exert himself, as well to procure subsistence for his army, as to allay the suspicions entertained of his fidelity to the English parliament. He therefore acted with vigour, over-ran extensive tracks of country, took several forts, among which was Cahir, an ancient castle of great strength. Thus were the fertile plains of Tipperary laid open to his famished troops. Continuing his progress, without any opposition from Taafe, he advanced against the city of Cashel. On his approach, the inhabitants fled to their cathedral, seated on a rock, well fortified, and provided with a strong garrison. Inchiquin now offered to leave them unmolested on their advancing to him three thousand pounds, and a month's pay for his troops; but this offer they imprudently rejected, and then he took the place by storm, with great slaughter both of citizens and soldiers.

In this indiscriminate slaughter, twenty churchmen hap-

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His victory at Knockness.

pened unfortunately to be slain, which raised the indignation of the nuncio and his clergy, who imputed the inactivity of Taafe, and of course the success of the heretical troops, to some secret concert between the Irish generals and Inchiquin. Instigated by this charge, which resounded with loud clamour, Taafe was obliged to take the field in November, and Inchiquin, who had retired to winter quarters with great booty, on getting intelligence of his motions, drew out his troops to oppose him. At a place called Knockness, a battle was fought between them. The left wing, commanded by Taafe in person, was broke at the first charge, and, though he used every exertion, and even killed some of the fugitives with his own hand, he was unable to stop their flight. In the right wing more courage was displayed, for a body of Scottish Highlanders being posted there, supported by two regiments of cavalry, and commanded by Macdonnell, an officer famous in the Irish wars, under the name of *Kolkitto*, or the left-handed, fought with great fury. As soon as they had discharged their muskets, they threw them on the ground, according to their usual mode, and rushing on the foe with their shields and broad swords, drove them confusedly from the field of battle with slaughter, seizing their artillery and baggage. At this critical conjuncture Inchiquin returned, after dispersing the left wing of the Irish, and having routed their cavalry, surrounded the Highlanders themselves, by the fall of *Kolkitto*, now left without a leader. Yet they obstinately maintained their ground until seven hundred of them were killed, and the remnant laid down their arms and accepted quarter. In this battle above three thousand Irish, the flower of the Munster army, were slain, and, to render Inchiquin's victory more complete, he got possession of six thousand small arms, all the enemy's artillery and baggage, the general's tent and cabinet, with thirty-eight standards and colours.

Confederates in disorder.

In this desperate situation of their affairs, the more moderate catholics became sensible of their error in attending to the violent councils of the nuncio. Therefore, in spite of his opposition, a new general assembly, at the instance of lord Muskerry and his associates, declared almost unani-

mously for peace. It was accordingly resolved that agents should be sent to France, to the queen and prince of Wales, to make a new attempt, by their means, to effect a treaty with the king. Against this measure the nuncio contended with great clamour, urging them to apply to the pope for aid, and so far succeeded as to get a resolution passed that agents should be sent to Spain and Rome as well as to France. At the same time, both he and his clergy declared, that it was their determined resolution never to allow the armies and forts of the confederates to be delivered into the hands of heretics. They also insisted on seeing the instructions of the agents destined for France, and of modelling them according to their will. To this insolent demand a due submission was apparently paid: but lord Muskerry and Geoffrey Browne, deputed to France, in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, who was not in their secrets, privately resolved not to attend to the nuncio's instructions.

Accordingly, on their arrival in France, they had a private meeting with the queen and prince, to whom they produced their secret instructions, declaring the stedfast loyalty of them and their party, in spite of those who were attempting to introduce a foreign jurisdiction, and earnestly entreated, that the prince would come over to Ireland, and put himself at the head of the king's loyal subjects. Afterwards they had their public audience before Antrim, where they exhibited the instructions dictated by the clergy, to which a general answer was graciously returned, that a person would be speedily sent to Ireland, empowered to grant the confederates every grace consistent with the king's honour and interest to afford. This person, they were afterwards assured privately, would be the marquis of Ormond, who was then in France along with the queen and prince. On effecting this business the agents returned to Ireland.

During these negotiations in France, the supreme council was deeply impressed with the present dangerous situation of the catholic confederacy, whose armies had been almost totally destroyed by two successive defeats. Their resources were exhausted, and they were every day deserted by numbers of their adherents, who purchased protec-

Joined by
Inchiquin.

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 a cessation with some of their enemies: and very fortunately lord Inchiquin was not averse to an accommodation. Immediately after his victory at Knocknoness, he had shewn some disaffection to the parliament on account of the distresses to which his army, by their neglect, had been reduced. Still he continued his operations against the Irish, but at the same time held a correspondence with the marquis of Ormond, urging him to return to Ireland, and unite with him against the governor of Dublin and his party. Not only with Ormond did he hold a communication, but also with the confederate catholics, and accordingly Taafe and Preston joined him in a solemn obligation to support the king's rights, and obey his lord-lieutenant. The armistice, however; that he was thus concerting with the catholics, was not completely settled until he was obliged prematurely to declare himself. His conduct having raised suspicions of his designs among some English officers of his army, they contrived to defeat them by resolving to seize Cork and Youghall; but having discovered their plan, he put them in confinement, and thus was obliged to avow his revolt.

Opposition
 of the
 nuncio.

This event was very disagreeable to the nuncio, as the armistice it occasioned was averse to the visionary scheme he had devised of subjecting Ireland to the pope's temporal sway. He therefore opposed it with all his power, and having assembled a number of bishops at his house, he caused them to protest against it; but his opposition did not avail, as it was confirmed by the supreme council, who had now recovered their liberty. Enraged at their determination, he had the clergy's protest affixed to the doors of the cathedral of Kilkenny, and when it was contemptuously torn down he thundered excommunication against all those who favoured the armistice, and denounced an interdict on all places in which it should be maintained; but the ecclesiastical thunders, so often hurled by this prelate on frivolous occasions, began by frequent use to lose their force. Against his violent censures the supreme council made a formal appeal to the pope, in which they were supported by two

archbishops, twelve bishops, with all the secular clergy of their dioceses and by numbers of the most moderate of the several religious orders, Jesuits, Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans, who were scattered in abundance over the land.

Though the power of the nuncio was evidently on the decline, yet he was still supported by no inconsiderable party both of clergy and laity; of the former by those who expected preferment from his favour, and of the latter by those who were eager for changes and commotions. All those of that description flocked to O'Neal, the nuncio's strenuous supporter, who solemnly denounced war against the supreme council and their adherents, though he had formerly sworn to obey their orders: but the absolution of the nuncio overcame all his scruples. His former friends took measures to resist him, and he made a truce with the Scots, which allowed him more liberty to apply his forces against his other apponents. Thus were the catholics at war with each other. Preston and Clanricarde laid seige to Athlone possessed by some partisans of the nuncio, and O'Neal hastened to its relief, but it was taken before his arrival, and the nuncio obliged to retreat to Galway. Here he attempted to convene his clergy in order to confirm his censures, but Clanricarde prevented their assembling and obliged the town not only to pay a large sum of money, but also to proclaim the armistice, and renounce the nuncio and his adherents.

This strenuous ecclesiastic was, however, still undismayed. When he could not collect his clergy, he issued excommunications in his own name, declaring all those who favoured the truce to be guilty of a mortal sin: and yet at the time he was railing against treaties with heretics, he allowed O'Neal to make overtures to Jones, the parliamentary general, for an accommodation, who was a greater heretic than any of those to whom he objected. The offer was accepted, and accordingly permission was given to O'Neal to march through Leinster without interruption. Disappointed in his attempt to relieve Athlone, he now formed a bold design to surprise Kilkenny, which was to be betrayed to him by an ecclesiastic, and make prisoners of the whole supreme council; but his disorderly troops delaying on the

CHAP. march for plunder, Inchiquin with his forces got there be-
XIII. fore him for their protection. This general, having received some reinforcements from Preston, O'Neal proposed an accommodation, offering to leave Munster unmolested if his operations in the other provinces were not opposed, but Inchiquin, without attending to his proposal, endeavoured to bring him to an engagement, which the other avoided, and after several skirmishes returned in disappointment to Ulster.

The marquis of Antrim made also an attempt to oppose the cessation, and with similar success. Disappointed of the lieutenantancy, for which he had applied, he revolted from the royal interest, and for the support of his party led over to Ireland a body of Scottish Highlanders, to which he joined some Irish troops he got at Wexford. With these he made a formidable appearance, and caused some alarm, but being suddenly attacked by the confederates, he was defeated, and his brave Highlanders destroyed. Yet his vanity was not abated by this defeat, for he made vaunting promises to Jones of important services to be performed against the royalists by his influence in Ulster, which induced that general to promise him support, and O'Neal even consented to serve under him; but he soon discovered his insignificance, and resumed the command which he had rashly conferred on him.

Provoked at the outrages of O'Neal, but especially at his connexion with Jones, so repugnant both to piety and religion, a general assembly convened at Kilkenny, declared him a traitor by proclamation. They also renewed their appeal to Rome against the nuncio, who had given them just offence by stopping their messenger to the pope, and seizing his papers. His adherents in the county of Galway, and all catholics, were forbidden, by severe penalties, to hold any correspondence with him, and in a letter addressed to him from the chairman of the assembly he was admonished to leave the kingdom, and prepare to answer the charges that would be laid against him before the supreme pontiff.

Ormond's
return.

In such a situation of affairs the marquis of Ormond arrived at Cork from France, having been obliged to make

his escape from England, and was received, on his arrival, by Inchiquin with that respect due to the king's lord-lieutenant. Being disappointed of the supplies he expected in France, he was obliged to conceal his poverty, and endeavour, by magnificent promises to conciliate the protestant army in Munster. The confederate catholics he also endeavoured to soothe by similar means, but had not authority to enter into a treaty with them, till he received instructions from the king; these, however, were sent to him privately, though his majesty at the same time made declarations of a contrary tendency to the parliamentary commissioners at Newport. On the authority of these instructions, together with the powers granted him by the queen and prince, he proceeded to treat with the general assembly of Kilkenny, for the purpose of uniting the loyal catholics and protestants in one common cause. With their commissioners he at first conferred for some time at his own house in Carrick, fourteen miles from the town, but for the sake of dispatch was prevailed on to repair to his castle in Kilkenny, and on his arrival was conducted with great pomp to his residence. There he was surrounded by his own guards, and treated with all due honour; but while he was employed in negotiation, he was obliged to repair to Cork to suppress a mutiny that broke out in lord Inchiquin's army. Of this army several officers, being inclined to make their peace with the ruling power in England, sent proposals to the English parliament, offering to prevail on their troops, discontented for want of pay, to force their way either to Jones in Dublin, or their new ally Owen O'Neal in Ulster. This dangerous spirit Ormond and Inchiquin endeavoured to allay, and their personal exertions were seconded by the seasonable arrival of a message from the prince of Wales, that prince Rupert, the king's nephew, would soon come to Ireland with that part of the English navy, which had revolted to the royalists, having provisions and ammunition for the royal army, and that the prince of Wales himself would shortly follow. This intelligence had a useful effect in quelling the commotions of the army, and when some officers were confined, and others removed, its attachment to the royal cause was completely secured.

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His treaty
concluded.

While Ormond was thus engaged, the Irish agents arrived from Rome, carrying along with them abundance of relics and benedictions, but no other supplies of any kind, nor even any directions of the conditions to be demanded in matters of religion, his holiness leaving the confederates to the dictates of their own judgment. This disappointment tended to confirm the more moderate of the confederates in their desire of peace; but this desire was at length extended to all parties concerned in the negotiation, by an account just received of the army demanding from the English parliament, that the king should be brought to justice. The impression made by this news, caused a treaty to be concluded without delay on the terms proposed by Ormond.

In civil affairs the conditions were nearly the same, as in the treaty of 1646, but in religion greater concessions were granted, and such as the marquis of Ormond had before steadily rejected. All the penal laws were to be repealed, and the catholics secured in the free exercise of their religion, which was not in precise terms actually established, and yet was nearly so, for they were allowed to retain the churches, and of course the church-livings they now held, until the king's pleasure could be freely and authentically declared. Beside these concessions, Ormond consented to another, the most degrading of all, divesting himself, in fact, of the very authority peculiar to his office. He agreed, that twelve *commissioners of trust*, as they were styled, should be nominated by the general assembly, in order to take care that the articles of peace should be duly performed, until ratified by a regular parliament. These were so far to participate with the lord-lieutenant in his authority, that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor even erect garrisons without their consent.

His justification.

Such extensive concessions being highly offensive to the zealous protestants, Ormond published a justification of his conduct, declaring that the protestant religion, and the interests of the crown, had been the constant objects of his care in settling the treaty, which afforded in reality only some *moderate indulgence* to the confederates; that he had made no accommodation with those who had been guilty of the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion,

and had not submitted to any of the articles until the army in England had openly discovered their horrid design of taking the king's life. C H A P. XIII.

If, however, he expected, that the conclusion of his tedious negotiation would have prevented the accomplishment of this nefarious design, he was sadly disappointed, for before the account of the Irish treaty reached London, the unhappy Charles had been brought to his trial, and had received the fatal blow. On the intelligence of this melancholy event coming to Ireland, the prince of Wales was proclaimed king by the marquis of Ormond, in all places subject to his authority, under the name of Charles II. The prince proclaimed king.

The nuncio now left the kingdom in despair of being able any longer to prevent the union of the confederate catholics with the protestant loyalists, such a general abhorrence was excited at the execution of the king. Yet even then this factious ecclesiastic did not cease using his endeavours to raise disturbance, for he sent inflammatory letters from France to the Irish clergy, until he was recalled to Rome. The nuncio's departure.

On the contrary, the marquis of Ormond endeavoured to conciliate all parties, in hopes of inducing them to unite in the support of their new sovereign. Accordingly, he made overtures to the commanders of the several armies, men of different principles, political and religious, to the parliamentary leaders, Michael Jones and Sir Charles Coote, who declared against him, to Owen O'Neal, the nuncio's adherent, who was prevented from negotiating by the jealousy of the commissioners of trust, and to the generals of the British forces in Ulster, who at length declared for the royalists, and blockaded Coote in Derry. His chief reliance was on the confederate catholics, but by these he was very much disappointed. They had engaged to furnish him with fifteen thousand infantry, and two thousand four hundred cavalry, which were to be maintained by sixty thousand pounds promised to be levied of the whole kingdom, but when he was going to take the field, no part of the money was collected. He then applied to several cities, who affected to be independent of the general assembly, by whom he got some money supplied tardily, and with great reluctance. Overtures of Ormond.

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Conduct of
Rupert.

After experiencing such disappointment, he naturally expected more effectual aid from prince Rupert, the late king's nephew, who arrived at Cork with the fleet so long desired. Immediately on his arrival he waited on him, in order to pay all due respect to so distinguished a person; but strange as it may seem, this prince, instead of assisting him, shewed a desire to thwart him in all his measures. He detained the money which the king ordered him to afford Ormond for the royal service, and though urged by the marquis, refused to blockade the port of Dublin or Derry. At the same time he held a correspondence with O'Neal, Antrim, and other factious Irish. Hence he excited a turbulent spirit in Connaught, which Clanricarde found it difficult to suppress. He also formed secret schemes for raising troops in the south for his own purposes, and when they were discovered by Ormond, he was ashamed to avow them. His opposition seems to have proceeded not only from a jealousy of Ormond, but also from the strong dislike he had to his religion, for when he obtained a thousand catholics for manning his fleet, he showed them so much partiality, that they were encouraged to insult the protestants in the sea ports, which raised such commotions as required all the exertions of Inchiquin to allay.

Its effect.

Such conduct of Rupert was very serviceable to the king's enemies, and to Jones in particular, for, by his refusal to blockade the port of Dublin, that general got some reinforcements and provisions from England, of which he stood much in need. Supplied very scantily with provisions, and cramped in his operations by disaffection among his troops, having confined some officers, and sent others to England, he exerted himself with energy in his present difficult situation. He also exercised political artifice with some skill, and had the address still to retain his old friend Owen O'Neal by large promises of money and ammunition. Owen also entered into an accommodation with George Monk, the parliamentary leader of Ulster, who had taken Carrickfergus, by surprise, from the Scots, reduced the towns of Belfast and Colerain, and sent Munroe, the Scottish general, a prisoner to England. Such was the union for their own interests between the leaders, so opposite to

each other in their principles. Jones even extended his intrigues to Preston's army, in which his conduct was dishonourable, for he tampered with some of the officers there, and prevailed on them to form a base design on Ormond's life, but for some reason or other no attempt was made.

The difficulties of Ormond being thus increased by the coldness of the confederates, the secret opposition of Rupert, and the union formed between O'Neal and the parliamentary leaders, he urged the king, who was then engaged in useless applications at the Hague, to hasten to Ireland without delay, as a beneficial effect would be produced by his presence in the country. Of this his majesty seemed well persuaded, and promised to proceed with all speed, but did not find it convenient to keep his word, and Ormond, in the mean while, was obliged to take the field with such forces as he could muster.

Having employed different generals with some troops in other services, he determined to make an attack on the capital himself, which he thought of principal importance, as gaining the city would be in fact gaining the whole kingdom. He accordingly put his army in motion, and advancing from Carlow, reduced Kildare, and some other parts, but, for want of supplies, was unable to attack Jones, who had marched to some distance from the city. In this difficulty he was furnished with some money by Taafé and Castlehaven, and with a reinforcement of two thousand infantry by Inchiquin. Encouraged by this supply, he marched towards Dublin, but stopped at Castleknock, within a cannon-shot of it, in hopes of raising some commotion in the city, of which he was disappointed, and then encamped at Finglas, distant two miles from it.

Here he was informed that Jones had detached the most of his horse towards Drogheda to intercept his provisions, and instantly sent Inchiquin with a strong body of cavalry in pursuit of them. In this useful service that general exerted himself with success, he routed the party, laid siege to Drogheda, and soon obliged this city to surrender; he also attacked a body of horse and foot escorting ammunition from the parliamentary party to Owen O'Neal, and having routed the horse, cut the infantry to pieces. After

C H A P. wards he invested Dundalk, and assailed Monk with such
XIII. vigour, that his own soldiers compelled him to surrender
the town. Some other important garrisons he also reduced,
and returned in triumph to the camp at Finglas.

On his return, the army amounted to seven thousand foot and four thousand horse, with which it was resolved to encompass Dublin on all sides, though the force was not sufficient to form a regular siege, and accordingly the marquis of Ormond, after leaving lord Dillon, with two thousand five hundred men on the north side, crossed the Liffey with the rest of his troops, and encamped at Rathmines.

In the mean while his affairs took an unfavourable turn in Ulster. The British troops that had invested sir Charles Coote in Derry, being suspicious that lord Montgomery of the Ardes, their leader, with their other officers, were not sincerely attached to the covenant, deserted in great numbers. Coote, on hearing this, engaged Owen O'Neal, for a large sum of money, to march to his relief, who proceeded to make the attempt, which obliged Montgomery, who was weakened by the desertion, to raise the siege, at the time Coote was reduced to great distress. This disagreeable news then received was succeeded by an account still more alarming. While Ormond was on his march to Rathmines, three English officers, Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, arrived in Dublin with three thousand foot and six hundred horse, with suitable supplies, and by these intelligence was brought that Cromwell lay at Bristol with a large army, with which he designed to land in Munster. Ormond, on getting this information, conceived it necessary to make some preparation in that province against the force expected, and accordingly Inchiquin was dispatched thither with three regiments of cavalry to strengthen the southern garrisons, and confirm the people in their attachment to the royal cause.

Though Ormond's army was thus diminished, it was still determined to continue the blockade of Dublin, but with more caution. At a council of war it was first resolved to take a position nearer the river, as thus a communication could be more easily held with the party stationed on the north side of it. But objections being raised to the scheme,

it was proposed to seize an adjacent castle called Bagga-
 trath, as the enemy's horse would then be deprived of the
 adjoining meadows, their sole pasture, and as the works
 could be extended from it to the river, by which the stop-
 page of the port would be effected. This plan being plau-
 sible, was approved of by the council, and Ormond would
 not venture, on his own authority, to make an objection.

At the close of the day an officer, with fifteen hundred
 men, was detached to seize the castle, which, it was thought,
 might be sufficiently fortified before morning, but though it
 was only a mile off, being led astray by the guides, he did
 not arrive at it till the night was far spent, which prevented
 him from forwarding the works as much as might be ex-
 pected. In the morning he was attacked by Jones, who
 dislodged the detachment, and pursued it to the main body
 of the army, which was seized with a sudden panic, and
 fled in all directions, nor could all the exertions of Ormond
 prevent them. The troops on the north side of the river
 followed the example, and though they might have at-
 tacked with success the enemy, confused, and intent only
 on plunder, they retired with great haste to Trim and
 Drogheda. In this defeat; six hundred of the confe-
 derates were slain, among whom, to the disgrace of the
 victors, were many that had been promised quarter, and
 eighteen hundred were taken prisoners, including three hun-
 dred officers. Besides, they lost all their baggage, camp
 equipage, ammunition, arms and ordnance, which was con-
 sidered a greater loss than the men, who were undisciplined
 and disaffected, with officers negligent and disobedient to
 orders.

Ormond retired to Kilkenny, where he collected the
 shattered remains of his army, and still entertained hopes of
 prevailing over his enemies, as he expected that the sense
 of common danger would at length urge the catholics to
 more energy, and even overcome their bigotry, which had
 so far prevented their cordial co-operation. One of the
 most zealous of these, Owen O'Neal, lately connected with
 the opposite party, began now to make overtures to him, as
 the ruling power of England had given him great offence,
 by formally condemning his treaties with Monk and Coote.

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From him Ormond expected an accession of six thousand foot and five hundred horse, which, with the other forces he could muster, would enable him, he thought, to make a second attempt on the capital with success.

CHAPTER XIV.

Care of Ireland suspended—Prevalence of the independents—Arrival of Cromwell—Storm of Drogheda—Submission of several towns—Ormond's attempts—Wexford taken by Cromwell—His progress—Ormond thwarted by the catholics—Defection of protestant forces—Surrender of Kilkenny—Of Clonmel—Cromwell succeeded by Ireton—His successes—Victories of Coote—Apathy of the catholics—Their contests with Ormond—His embarkation in disgust—Clanricarde his deputy—Satisfactory to the catholics—Bigotry of the clergy—Negotiation with the duke of Lorrain—Progress of the republicans—Limerick taken—Severities of Ireton—His death—Galway taken—Submission of Clanricarde—Schemes of Cromwell—Trials and executions—Rebellion subdued—Disposal of forfeitures—Cromwell protector—Symptoms of mutiny—Henry Cromwell lord deputy—His excellent administration—Death of Cromwell—Henry recalled—Republicans at variance—Proceedings of the royalists—Charles II proclaimed.

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Care of
Ireland
suspended.

DURING the contest of the English parliament with their sovereign, the subjection of Ireland had been only an object of secondary regard; but when their triumph over the unhappy monarch became complete, it was then considered of more essential importance. Accordingly, several motions were now made in parliament to have a powerful army sent to Ireland for the chastisement of popish rebels, and the

relief of their protestant brethren ; but the accomplishment of this design was suspended by the jealousies that arose between the presbyterians and independents, by the factions in the army, and the insurrections in England concerted with the Scots. Had the Irish confederates taken the advantage of these divisions, and formed a real union with Ormond, they might have expelled every partisan of the English parliament from their country, but being prevented by their pride and bigotry from forming this union they afterwards suffered severely for it themselves.

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The party of the independents at length prevailed over their opponents, purged the parliament, new modelled the army, and brought the unhappy sovereign to the block. Having thus obtained the supreme sway, they resolved to take effectual measures for the reduction of Ireland, and appointed Cromwell himself lord-lieutenant, with the command of the expedition destined for that purpose. This extraordinary man, though he was not accustomed to the military profession in his youth, yet by his genius, his courage, his decision, his attention to his troops, and his adapting himself to their peculiar tempers, became a most successful leader in the civil wars.

Prevalence
of the in-
dependents

Having changed his determination on account of a change of circumstances, instead of proceeding to Munster, Cromwell steered his course directly to Dublin, where he arrived on the fifteenth of August, with eight thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, twenty thousand pounds in money, a formidable train of artillery, and other necessities of war. He now offered pardon and protection to all those who should submit to the English parliament, appointed sir Theophilus Jones governor of the city, and marched thence to the attack of Drogheda with ten thousand men. To provide for the defence of this place Ormond had taken great pains. He repaired the fortifications, committed the government of it to sir Arthur Aston, a catholic officer of distinguished bravery, augmented the garrison to two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all chosen men, conducted by many officers of reputation, and supplied with sufficient ammunition and provisions. By such dispositions he

Arrival of
Cromwell.

C H A P. supposed the attack of the enemy would be repelled, and
XIV. their forces diminished by the inconveniences and severities of a siege.

Storm of
Drogheda.

Against an opponent of an ordinary cast such precautions might have been sufficient, but Cromwell possessed such vigour and intrepidity as not to be impeded by common obstacles. Disdaining all regular approaches and formal operations of a siege, on the governor's refusal to surrender, he directed his cannon against the walls, in which he made a breach in two days. He then ordered an assault, which was twice repulsed, but in the third attempt, led on by himself, the town was taken by storm. Though quarter had been promised to all those who would lay down their arms, yet when the town was reduced, and all opposition had ceased, Cromwell gave orders to put the garrison to the sword. In compliance with these infernal orders his soldiers, with seeming reluctance, massacred their prisoners in cold blood, and, among others, even the governor himself, with his gallant officers. A number of ecclesiastics were found there, whom Cromwell, considering them as ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to dispatch. For five days this shocking butchery continued, from which a few escaped in disguise, and about thirty were spared, who were transported as slaves to Barbadoes. Such barbarity this inhuman commander pretended to be in retaliation for the cruelties committed by the catholics, but it was well known, that the most of the garrison were English protestants.

Submission
of several
towns.

His real intention was to strike terror into his opponents, and his abominable policy had the desired effect. The towns of Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, Lisburn and Belfast, were surrendered to the troops under his orders. Colerain was betrayed to sir Charles Coote, who drove sir George Munroe from the counties of Down and Antrim and reduced the whole country except the castle of Carrickfergus. Cromwell himself, at the head of nine thousand men, marched southward through the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, his fleet attending his motions, and his army well supplied with provisions, which the peasants brought to his camp from all quarters, as they were assured of protection,

and paid the full value of their goods.* Having reduced, CHAP.
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without resistance, the small fortresses in his way, he arrived before the town of Wexford on the first of October.

During the rapid successes of the enemy, Ormond was obliged to keep at a suitable distance with a small army, scantily supplied with necessaries, on account of the jealousy of the commissioners of trust. For his troops he thought it prudent to provide garrisons before the approach of winter, and applied to several towns to receive them, but they refused. In this critical situation, and confined in his authority by the commissioners of trust, he applied to the king to come over to Ireland himself, who promised to do so, and Rupert's fleet, which had been some time blocked up in Kinsale, was now preparing to convey him, but his majesty retracted, supposing it would be more advantageous for him to attend to the commissioners from Scotland. Ormond, of course, was left to his shifts, and by active exertions had augmented his forces considerably at the time Cromwell advanced towards Wexford.

This town was one of those that had refused to admit garrisons from Ormond, and it was not without urgent entreaties, that he could prevent them from surrendering at present, or prevail on them to receive a garrison of two thousand men, which they at last consented to admit, as they were all true catholics, for no danger could induce them to accept any aid from heretics. When Ormond had thus provided for the safety of the town he retired, and soon after Cromwell arrived. Here he had recourse to those arts of seduction, which he so often applied with success. Stafford, commander of the castle, was suspected of treachery by Ormond, but as he was a catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to his removal, and hence his mercenary disposition had its due effect. At the very commencement of the siege, he admitted Cromwell's soldiers into the castle, and when the citizens saw with consternation the enemy's

Wexford
taken by
Cromwell.

* Before he left Dublin, he published a proclamation forbidding his soldiers, under pain of death, to hurt any one of the inhabitants, or take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This injunction he took care to enforce, for on his march to Drogheda, he ordered two of his private soldiers to be put to death before the whole army, for stealing two hens from an Irishman, which were not worth sixpence.

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colours on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed against the town, they deputed agents to treat of a surrender, but the soldiers deserted their posts without waiting for the issue, and thus was the town taken, which experienced the same treatment as Drogheda. Every one found in arms was regularly put to the sword.

His pro-
gress.

Cromwell now proceeded to Ross, situated on the river Barrow, which surrendered on conditions; but Ireton, whom he had detached with a body of forces to attack Duncannon, met with more resistance, though it could obtain no supplies from Waterford, which was so much interested in its defence; such terror had Cromwell's severities produced. Yet Wogan, the governor of this fortress, continued to make a bold defence, and his efforts were attended with success. With the assistance of lord Castlehaven, he made a resolute sally, that disconcerted Ireton so much, that he raised the siege in confusion, and joined the main army at Ross. This army, after all its victories, being greatly reduced by its services, in a country at that time injurious to an English constitution, it was found necessary to send to Dublin for a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men. Accordingly they proceeded from the capital, but Inchiquin made an attempt to intercept them on their march, in which he was defeated. Cromwell's forces being thus collected, he passed the Barrow on a bridge of boats, a sight unusual to the Irish, and obliged Ormond, who made some show of preventing him, to retire to Kilkenny.

Here Ormond was joined by all the forces of Owen O'Neal, with whom he had made an accommodation, but he had not the advantage of that general himself, as he was afflicted with a severe malady, of which he soon after died. Having now become confident by such an addition of forces, he marched from Kilkenny, with the unanimous consent of his army, to give battle to Cromwell; but this general, who had taken the fort of Knocktopher, within five miles of that city, changing his course, crossed the Suir to invest Waterford. Ormond hastened to its relief, having detached Inchiquin to recover Carrick on Suir, which had been surprised by Cromwell, and, on his arrival at Waterford, prevailed on the citizens, who had before declined a garrison,

to admit fifteen hundred northern troops, under a leader named Ferral, all pure catholics, not tinctured with the smallest portion of heresy, for no others would be received. On thus providing for the safety of that city, Ormond was preparing to march to Carrick, being confident of the success of the expedition thither, but he was informed, that the attempt had miscarried, and that the discomfited troops had retired to Clonmel. To this town he also retired, with his few remaining forces, by a circuitous march, through a country terrified at the expected approach of the English, and removing in consternation their miserable effects.

This consternation was increased by the account of Cromwell having taken Passage-fort near Waterford, which caused the citizens to inform Ormond, that if they did not get an instant supply both of provisions and troops, they could make no longer resistance. On this he hastened again to the relief of that city, threw into it a second reinforcement, and obliged Cromwell to raise the siege ; but when he proposed to annoy the retreating army, distressed with hardships and disease, and applied to the citizens to furnish him with boats for transporting his soldiers across the river, resuming their insolence at the removal of danger, they refused until the favourable opportunity was lost. They also refused leave for his troops to pass through their town to succour Ferral, who had been defeated in an attempt to recover the fort of Passage, and by their refusal the half of his army was destroyed. Nor would they allow Ormond's soldiers to rest in huts under their walls, for a renewal of an attempt on the same fort, though their compliance would subject them to no inconvenience at all.

Ormond
thwarted
by the ca-
tholics.

Such opposition to his measures, arose partly from the malignant advice of bigotted ecclesiastics, who excited religious animosity among their hearers, and partly from the practices of the marquis of Antrim, who still aspired at the office of chief-governor, and therefore used every endeavour to supplant Ormond. Hence he attempted to render him obnoxious both to the people and king, and excited suspicions against his adherents with the same design, having forged supposed articles of agreement between Michael Jones and lord Inchiquin, which he afterwards confessed, when the

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forgery was detected. He also induced the commissioners of trust, who were very willing of themselves, to advance charges against Ormond for misconduct, of which no proof could be produced. Conscious of his own rectitude, the marquis was provoked at the ingratitude of those whose cause he was endeavouring to support, and therefore applied to the king for liberty to resign, which was refused, until the necessity should be unavoidable.

Defection
of protest-
ant forces.

Not only with the opposition of the catholics was this nobleman perplexed at present, but also with the disaffection that had lately sprung up among the protestants of his own party, occasioned by the following circumstance. Cromwell, before his departure from London, having understood that lord Broghill, son of the earl of Cork, had come over with an intention of repairing to the king, and accompanying him to Ireland, surprised him by a visit, assured him that his designs were well known to the council, and threatened him with imprisonment; but promised, if he engaged in the service of the commonwealth, that he should have an honourable command, would be obliged to take no disagreeable oaths, nor fight against any but the Irish. Broghill readily complied, arrived in Ireland at the end of October, raised a troop of horse for the service of Cromwell, and practised secretly with the protestant forces of Munster. His applications had the desired success, especially as they were disgusted with their catholic allies, who had often insulted them on account of their religion: and hence all the chief garrisons of the province at once declared for Cromwell. Thus, after he had reduced Dungarvan, did this general find convenient winter quarters for his harassed army, of which they had so much occasion. On the contrary, Ormond could gain no admittance for his troops into any of the cities except Clonmel and Kilkenny, and therefore was obliged to disperse them into various parts for shelter and subsistence.

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Surrender
of Kilkenny.

Yet, even at that season, he was not allowed to enjoy any repose. Cromwell, in the depth of winter, advanced suddenly against Kilkenny, relying on the promise of an officer named Tickell, who had engaged to betray it to him; but being informed, on his approach, that the plot was dis-

covered, and the traitor executed, and that Ormond was exerting himself with activity, he retired, as he was not at that time provided for a siege. Being, however, not easily diverted from his intention, especially as there was urgent occasion for his presence in England, he resolved to push forward his military operations with all speed. Having received great addition to his forces by the revolt of the Munster garrisons, which furnished him with soldiers inured to the climate and Irish mode of warfare, he took the field at the end of February, and again directed his march to Kilkenny. His army, proceeding in two divisions, one of which was under Ireton, they formed a junction at Callan, and at Gowran received a reinforcement under colonel Hewson, the new governor of Dublin. Thus they were enabled to invest Kilkenny, which was not provided with its usual force for resistance, as the garrison, by means of a plague which raged there, was reduced from twelve hundred to four hundred and fifty men. Lord Castlehaven, the governor, having left the city on account of the plague, deputed the command to sir Walter Butler, who, with his small force, made a resolute defence, and repelled the attack of the besiegers with such spirit and success, that Cromwell, despairing of taking the town with that expedition his affairs required, began to think of a retreat, when the mayor and citizens privately advised him to persevere. The assault was of course renewed, and the same fierce resistance displayed: but after all their efforts of valour, the weakly garrison was at length obliged to submit. They surrendered the city and castle to Cromwell on honourable conditions, and were applauded by him for the brave defence they had made.

He now proceeded to invest Clonmel, which was defended by Hugh O'Neal, with twelve hundred men from the province of Ulster. Here Cromwell met with a still more obstinate resistance than at Kilkenny, for in the first assault he lost two thousand of his troops, and hence thought it expedient to depend for success rather on a blockade than open force. Ormond, also, was active in his exertions, and, in spite of the wonted opposition of the commissioners of trust, prevailed on lord Ross to march with a body of troops

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to the relief of Clonmel, but he was defeated by lord Broghill, who advanced to assist the besiegers. In this engagement the Romish bishop of Ross was taken prisoner, who, though an active partisan, was offered his life by lord Broghill, on condition of his endeavouring to prevail on the garrison of a fort adjacent to surrender; but when he was brought to the spot, the heroic captive exhorted them to defend their post with spirit against the enemies of their religion and country, and then resigned himself to death. Enabled by this reinforcement, Cromwell continued the blockade with great strictness; and at length, after a brave defence of two months, the ammunition and provisions of the garrison being totally exhausted, and no prospect of relief appearing, Hugh O'Neal secretly withdrew his forces, and conducted them to Waterford. The citizens of Clonmel, being now obliged to surrender, were favoured with honourable terms by the English general, who was eager to go to England, where his presence was anxiously desired by his adherents.

1650.
Cromwell
succeeded
by Ireton.

The urgent necessity for his presence was occasioned by the Scots proclaiming Charles II king, and threatening to invade England. He therefore embarked for that country, leaving the care of his army to Ireton, who acted as deputy in conjunction with three others.

His suc-
cesses.

In his military operations this general was sufficiently successful, though great opposition might still have been made to his progress, had the confederates employed the means of defence with which they were furnished; but they had neither union, resolution, nor regularity of plan, and hence the success of their enemies. Immediately after the surrender of Clonmel, the fortress of Treacrogan was taken, which contained stores and artillery, and which Castlehaven had made a bold attempt to relieve. Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, with many other fortresses, submitted to Hewson. Waterford was surrendered by Preston; Carlow, and even Duncannon itself, were reduced. Ireton now proceeded towards Athlone, to which place sir Charles Coote was directing his march from Ulster.

Victories of
Coote.

This general had been very successful in his operations in that province during the winter, having defeated the

forces of sir George Munroe, and lord Montgomery of Ar- C H A P.
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des, and reduced Carrickfergus. Afterwards, he gained a complete victory near Letterkenny over the Irish army com-
manded by MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, the successor of
Owen O'Neal, a prelate more conspicuous for courage than
military skill, who was taken in the pursuit, and soon after
executed by order of the English parliament. Coote pro-
ceeded in his career of success. By the surrender of En-
niskillen and Carrickfergus, having completed the reduc-
tion of Ulster, he marched southward toward Athlone, in
order to form a junction with Ireton, that thus they might
effect the conquest of the western counties.

In this hazardous situation of their affairs, the catholics Apathy of
the catho-
lics.
made no suitable exertions for their defence ; their coldness
for the common cause proceeded from their jealousy for a
protestant chief governor, to which they were excited by the
bigotted exhortations of their clergy, who were still attached
to the turbulent principles of the nuncio. Ormond, indeed,
used every exertion in his power, with such ill provided
troops as he could collect, to prevent the enemy from pass-
ing the Shannon, but could not prevail on the catholics to
take any effectual means to second his exertions.

Supposing that the enemy would make an attack on Li- Their cor-
tests with
Ormond.
merick, situated on the Shannon, in so commanding a posi-
tion, he wished to throw a garrison into it, but the citizens
refused him leave. On their refusal he summoned twenty-
four catholic bishops to meet him there, that they might
intercede with the people to get that salutary measure effect-
ed ; but when they met, though they made specious offers,
they gave no cordial support, and by secret influence coun-
teracted their public professions. Under the plea of a
statement of grievances, they made use of insulting language
to him, which offended him so much that he threatened to
use the liberty allowed him by the king of leaving the king-
dom. This measure being inconsistent with the schemes
of the catholic nobility and commissioners of trust, until a
suitable successor was selected, they endeavoured to divert
him from his intention, promising to bring the citizens of
Limerick to due submission.

These citizens, indeed, on the approach of some parties

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of the enemy, seemed to relent, and when the parliamentary general offered them a free exercise of their religion, with various other privileges, on condition that they would allow his forces a passage through their city into the county of Clare, they rejected his proposal. Encouraged by these promising appearances, Ormond suspended his purpose of embarking, and by an invitation was proceeding with his guards towards the city, when a seditious friar, called Wolfe, seizing the keys, and setting a guard of his own party on the gates, prevented his admission. The friar's adherents were also guilty of other outrages, rifling the magazines, and disposing of the corn at their pleasure, which the bishops pretended to condemn, but refused to excommunicate the authors. Hence by the obstinacy of Limerick, Ormond could not keep his troops in a body on either side of the Shannon, and its example was followed by Galway, which refused to admit any garisons but such as should be under the command of their own magistrates.

The conduct of the disobedient cities was in a great degree produced by the malignant influence of the refractory clergy who had evidently a design of erecting an authority independent of the king, and had already petitioned some catholic powers for protection. Formerly they had offered to place Ormond on the throne of Ireland, provided that he would unite with the nuncio, and embrace their religion, but he rejected their insidious offers, and his perverse adherence to his own faith was the principal cause of their dislike to him.

At a meeting of catholic prelates, at a place called Jamestown, it was agreed that a message should be sent to him, requiring him speedily to repair to the king, leaving his authority in the hands of some person faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, possessed of the confidence and affections of the people ; but without waiting for a formal answer to their proposal, they published a declaration, containing different charges against his government, and enjoining the people to obey no orders but such as were issued by them, denouncing, at the same time, a solemn sentence of excommunication against all those who should adhere to

the lord-lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience. C H A P.
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Such were the violent proceedings of these bigotted ecclesiastics at the very time the parliamentary forces, in their career of success, were advancing under Ireton and sir Charles Coote, by different routes towards Athlone. Hence the Irish were apprehensive of losing the whole western province, and Clanricarde, at the instance of Ormond, marched to oppose the enemy; but the sentence of excommunication, published at the head of his army, discharged his troops from their obedience to government; nor could the urgent entreaties of the commissioners of trust, of the catholic nobility, and of other moderate persons of the same party, prevail on the assembled bishops to revoke it; but only to suspend it during the attempt to relieve Athlone.

Thus it appears, that the imminent danger both of their cause and their country could hardly induce these zealous churchmen to relax from their violence; but this violence was at present inflamed by a particular incident which afforded some plausible pretence to their proceedings. Among the other concessions of Charles to please the Scots, he made a public declaration “acknowledging that the misfortunes of his father had arisen from his having sinfully married into an idolatrous family; expressing his abhorrence of the peace with the Irish Roman catholics, formed by his father, and ratified by himself, and asserting it to be void, as it was made with bloody and idolatrous rebels.”

By this hypocritical declaration of the king was abolished, in a great degree, any little influence that Ormond might still have retained over the catholics. Deprived of their confidence he had no one with whom he might consult in his critical situation, at least of his own persuasion, for not a protestant was allowed to be about him but the captain of his guard. He endeavoured to persuade the catholics that this declaration was extorted from the king, which his majesty acknowledged to him in a private letter, and professed his own positive determination of still maintaining the peace. He applied to the commissioners of trust that they might prevail on the congregation of prelates to

His embarkation
in disgust.

CHAP. XIV. revoke their declaration against him, but their attempt proved fruitless, for they were still inexorable. Perceiving then that his presence could be of no more benefit to the royal cause, he resolved to leave the kingdom, and declaring his intention to the commissioners of trust, they importuned him to wait the result of a new general assembly, which he did, but found them humbly submissive to the ecclesiastic authority. Hence, as all his efforts could not induce the catholics to adopt more moderate councils, he was confirmed in his determination. Having therefore appointed Clanricarde his deputy, with discretionary power to accept or decline the office, as he might think fit, he embarked at Galway, and, after a disagreeable voyage, arrived in France.

1650.

Clanricarde his deputy.

Though Clanricarde, from his experience of the treatment which Ormond was accustomed to receive, might have been deterred from accepting the government, yet from his zeal for the royal interest, which might be thus promoted, he consented to accept it, provided that he was assured of due obedience. In their profession of paying him this obedience, the general assembly were more explicit than the clergy, who made use of equivocal expressions, with which he thought it prudent to acquiesce, and therefore declared his acceptance of the government.

Satisfactory to the catholics.

The Irish catholics had now a governor of their own religion, and also had their forces quite purified from heresy by the dispersion of the protestant royalists, some of whom had engaged in the service of the parliament, and others had retired to foreign countries, among whom was lord Inchiquin, and several protestant officers who had embarked with Ormond. Their forces, of course, were, as might be supposed, actuated by the same zeal, and though dispersed in different quarters, were, if collected, by no means inconsiderable. Besides, their spirits were raised by some checks sustained by the enemy. Sir Charles Coote had been disappointed in his attempt on Athlone, and Ireton was refused admission into Limerick, on the approach of Castlehaven with timely aid. He was therefore obliged to retire, as he could not undertake a siege at such a season. Hence all Connaught, with a considerable part of Munster, and also Limerick, Galway, and Sligo, were still in the posses

sion of the Irish, who might still be enabled to carry on the war with some prospect of success. CHAP.
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This favourable prospect was, however, clouded by the baneful influence of the clergy, who disseminated the noxious principles that had formerly been infused into them by the nuncio. In their conduct, indeed, they exhibited great duplicity and even inconsistency, but still had the accomplishment of their own ends in view. Hence, when Ireton sent agents to the general assembly, for an accommodation, they all clamoured for a treaty with him, and even French, the titular bishop of Ferns, a zealous partizan of the nuncio; but when several of the nobility and other leading members of the assembly opposed them, they relaxed from their proposition, being apprehensive, lest the best informed of the laity might at length become sensible of their tyranny. They even assumed the semblance of strenuous loyalty, and denounced excommunication against every one who would not obey the proclamation of the deputy, forbidding all intercourse with the enemy. Yet, at the same time, they entertained a secret abhorrence for him on account of his loyalty and attachment to Ormond, and had private consultations in order to resist his measures, indulging themselves with the vain hope of having the papal power, and of course their own absolute authority, established in Ireland, by the intervention of some foreign prince.

The foreign prince, on whom they chiefly depended to get that favourite end accomplished, was the duke of Lorraine, who had agreed, during the government of Ormond, to advance twenty-four thousand pounds for the royal cause on getting possession of Duncannon fort for his security; but on account of the intervention of many difficulties, especially the danger of the fort being besieged, the treaty was broke off. Afterwards an attempt was made to renew it by lord Taafe, who arrived at Brussels with authority from the duke of York, offering any place in the kingdom as security for the sums that should be advanced. Lorraine gave him a favourable reception, especially as he was employed by the Irish Roman catholics, in whose cause he wished to exert himself, that he might thus gain the good opinion of the pope, for which, at that time, he had

Negocia-
tion with
the duke of
Lorraine.

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XIV. an urgent occasion ; for having married a second wife while his first was alive, he was desirous to persuade his holiness to pronounce his first marriage void, and to declare the children of his second legitimate. He therefore received Taafe with particular attention, expressed an ardent zeal for the catholic cause in Ireland, and furnished him with five thousand pounds to purchase arms and ammunition. He even promised more effectual aid, but expressed a desire of being allowed more extensive authority in Ireland than Taafe considered himself commissioned to grant, who advised him to send over a more particular envoy to settle that point. Accordingly, he sent over an abbe to Ireland on that business, who applied to Clanricarde, but as the marquis did not wish to be concerned in it himself, he appointed a committee, composed of bishops, nobility, and gentry, to take the abbe's proposals into consideration.

The proposals offered by this envoy, in due form, were, that if his master advanced money sufficient for defraying the expense of the war, and took such steps as were necessary for the defence of the Irish nation, he should get certain towns put into his hands for his security, that he should, saving the rights of his majesty and his subjects, be declared protector royal of Ireland, with extensive civil powers, having absolute command over the military force of the kingdom, and should require that submissive duty be constantly paid to the apostolic see.

These humiliating proposals the committee pretended to discuss with due attention, but scorned to communicate with the deputy on the business, and even excluded the more moderate and loyal of their number, admitting others more suitable to their wishes. Regardless, then, of the instructions they had received, and of the purpose for which they were appointed, they gave their full consent to the degrading terms of the abbe, to which they were urged by the bishops, who insisted they should accept them. But Clanricarde, considering them inconsistent with the king's prerogative, declared them to be inadmissible, and expressed himself highly offended with the abbe for presuming to make proposals so injurious to the honour of his royal master. The abbe, then, in order to reconcile him, consented

to advance, on the security of Limerick and Galway, twenty thousand pounds, including the five thousand already afforded, and to refer all articles, respecting the authority which the duke should possess in Ireland, to be adjusted by a treaty at Brussels. Accordingly, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Geoffrey Browne, in conjunction with lord Taafe, who was still abroad, were appointed deputies by Clanricarde to treat with the duke of Lorrain. The clergy, and those connected with them, considering it necessary for them also to interfere, gave their authority on the occasion to French, the turbulent bishop of Ferns, who had been previously sent to the duke on their business, and was then present with him.

On the arrival of the two deputies, they found that lord Taafe had gone to Paris to consult with the queen and lord-lieutenant, and of course were exposed to the dangerous influence of the zealot French, who talked in an enthusiastic strain of the piety of the nuncio, railed against all those who opposed his excommunication, which he declared was confirmed in heaven, and its opposers forsaken of God, and given up to Satan; expressed his abhorrence of the deputy, a man excommunicated for his iniquities, and rendered odious to God Almighty, who never would prosper any treaty framed under his direction. Prevailed on by this hypocritical cant, especially on account of the supposed sanctity of his character, Plunket and Browne disclaimed the deputy's commission, and signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was in reality invested with the entire sovereignty of the kingdom, under the title of Protector Royal. But the treaty was never confirmed; Clanricarde sent a formal protest against it, and the designs of Lorrain, whatever they were, thus terminated in disappointment.

During its discussion the Irish clergy were elevated with extravagant notions, and exhibited to themselves the glorious prospect of a triumphant church restored to its pristine splendour under the protection of a catholic prince. Their zealous agent, the bishop of Ferns, was peculiarly active in promoting their schemes. He prevailed on Plunket, the greatest bigot of the deputies, to sign a petition to the pope, in the name of the Irish nation, professing an entire sub-

CHAP. mission to the holy see, and imploring absolution from the
 XIV. nuncio's censures. Browne indeed refused, and Taafe's name was put down in his absence. Such were the means to which the clergy had recourse to accomplish their favourite purposes; and, in the expectation of the high power they were to attain, they had formed schemes for exercising their authority with great rigour, issuing excommunications in abundance, and preparing to usurp the entire government of the kingdom; but their airy projects were soon dissipated by the successful progress of the parliamentary forces.

Ireton, having made suitable preparations during the winter, resolved to commence hostilities early in the spring, and, according to his directions, sir Charles Coote invested Athlone, which being taken, though Clanricarde made some shew of opposition, Coote marched into Connaught with the intent of attacking Galway, and of proceeding thence to forward the operations of Ireton against Limerick. While Coote was thus engaged, Ireton himself, being not discouraged at the failure of the first attempt, led his forces into Munster, and having defeated the different parties that opposed him, laid siege to that city.

Limerick
 taken.

On his approach Clanricarde offered to shut himself up in it with a body of forces, and share its fate, but the citizens rejected his proposals; and would only receive a few soldiers of their own choice, which they placed under the command of Hugh O'Neal, who had gained so much honour by the spirited defence of Clonmell. On the present occasion he displayed equal courage, and though lord Muskerry, who advanced with considerable force to the relief of Limerick, was defeated on his march, he was not discouraged by this misfortune, but determined to persevere in its defence. His exertions were attended with considerable success, and by his resolute sallies great numbers of the besiegers were slain. At length the disaffection of some of the inhabitants overcame all his efforts. Having tumultuously assembled, they insisted on treating with the enemy, and seizing the cannon, they turned them on the garrison, who were of course obliged to surrender.

Twenty-four persons were excepted from mercy and executed. Among these were O'Brien, the popish prelate of

Emly, Wolfe the friar, who had excluded the marquis of CHAP. XIV.
Ormond from Limerick, and Geoffery Browne, who was seiz-
ed on his return from Brussels, where he had gone on a Severities
mission certainly very odious to the republicans. Before of Ireton.
his judges he pleaded, that he should not be excepted from
mercy, as he was engaged in the same cause as the repub-
licans themselves, the defence of the religion and liberty of
his country. But this reasonable argument had no effect.
O'Neal, the brave defender of the city, was also found guilty,
but, at the intercession of some officers, his life was spared.

Ireton was resolved to reduce Galway, but having caught His death.
the epidemic distemper so prevalent in the country, he died
before he could effect it. In the command of the English
forces he was succeeded by Ludlow, whom Cromwell wish-
ed to have removed from England, as he considered his
presence there unsuitable to the accomplishment of his
schemes. This general, being determined to exert himself
in the situation in which he was placed, previous to the time
of opening the campaign, gave orders forbidding all persons
to assist the enemy with provisions, and enjoining every
one not to depart from his quarters; he also issued a pro-
clamation excluding from mercy all those who had deserted
the English, and joined with the catholics. The severity
of these public declarations had a sensible effect on the Irish,
who resolved to make a general submission, but they were
informed that no terms for a general accommodation would
be accepted, though individuals, who would lay down their
arms should be treated with indulgence.

In this consternation, Preston, the governor of Galway, Galway ta-
ken.
made his escape over sea, and the town, without regard to
the authority of Clanricarde, who was present there, being
destitute of the means of defence, surrendered to sir Charles
Coote. Other towns of an inferior kind, were even more
easily reduced. Many soldiers submitted to Ludlow on
being permitted to transport themselves to the continent,
and enter into the service of some prince in alliance with
England, and others, who were natives of some station, laid
down their arms on being suffered to retain their personal
fortune, and such a portion of their real estate as those in
similar cases would be allowed to possess.

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XIVSubmission
of Clanricarde.

Such terms might have been obtained by all the Irish, but those of Connaught and Ulster determined to make another effort, to which they were urged by Clanricarde, who, being joined by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal; but these places were soon retaken, and twelve hundred of his men were compelled to surrender. The remainder of his forces were afterwards dispersed, and he himself was obliged to take shelter in a fortress. Being now in continual danger of his life from the treachery of his followers, he resolved to submit, and having previously received the king's consent, he left this country, with the permission of the English parliament, accompanied by a number of his adherents, who chose to partake of his fortunes. He retired into England, where he died in 1657, with the character of having, in times of difficulty and danger, supported with fidelity the cause he had espoused.

Schemes of
Cromwell.

The principal opponents of the English parliament being now subdued, that assembly took measures for the final settlement of Ireland. The appointment of Ludlow being only of a temporary nature, the parliament had determined to send Lambert over as successor to Ireton; but Cromwell having contrived that he should be denied the title of lord-lieutenant, as being inconsistent with the simplicity of a republic, he refused, as the other suspected, to accept the bare office of commander of the forces, which, according to Cromwell's wishes, was conferred on his son-in-law Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow, and was of course sincerely devoted to him.

Trials and
executions.

As he had no employment, on his arrival, in his military capacity, he set about directing the management of civil affairs, and had others joined with him in that office, under the title of commissioners of parliament. High courts of justice were now erected in the several provinces, in order to try those who had murdered the English, and also those who had only assisted in the war. The former were to be deprived both of life and property, the latter were to forfeit two-thirds of their estate, and be banished from the country. In Connaught, Lord Mayo, and in Munster, Colonel William Bagnel, were condemned to death, though the evi-

dence was not sufficiently correct; but Lord Muskerry was honourably acquitted. Some who had made their escape were particularly excluded from pardon both with respect to life and estate, among whom was the marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, Bramhill, the protestant bishop of Derry, and the earl of Roscommon. Of the lower orders not more than two hundred were executed both in Leinster and the southern and western provinces together, which was owing to the number of barbarous insurgents, who, during the years of hostilities, had been either cut off, died of famine or plague, or escaped into foreign countries. In Ulster, the scene of such shocking cruelties, not one was capitally convicted but Phelim O'Neal.

From the arrival of Owen, this barbarous chieftain had rather acted an inferior part, but after his death, during the administration of Clanricarde, when other commanders of more ability had been gradually removed, he began to distinguish himself in affording some aid to the marquis, but was compelled by repeated defeats to take shelter in a retired island. Hence he was dragged to justice by lord Caulfield, whose father, after having seized by treachery his person and castle of Charlemont. he had caused to be murdered. On his trial, he acknowledged the forgery of the pretended commission from the late king for beginning the insurrection, and though he was offered to be restored to his estate and liberty if he could produce material proof for its reality, he still persevered in declaring it to be a deception. The same offer was repeated to him at his execution, but without effect.

Lord Macguire, and Hugh Macmahon, two of the original conspirators, had been executed in England in 1645. The former pleaded his privilege, asserting he ought to be tried in Ireland by his peers, but this objection, after serious consideration, was overruled by the court, whose opinion was confirmed by the decision of both houses of the English parliament.

The commissioners, already noted, having declared by proclamation that the rebellion was subdued, and the war concluded, the inhabitants were encouraged to pursue their industry without any apprehension, and the people of Eng-
Rebellion subdued.

CHAP. ^{land} were permitted to transport grain and cattle, free from
 XIV. duty, to supply the immediate necessities of the country,
 exhausted by a tedious war.

1653. Forfeited lands were to be allowed the soldiers, and the
 Disposal of adventurers, who had advanced sums for the suppression
 forfeitures. of the rebellion; but the soldiers, who had served from the
 arrival of Cromwell, were to be principally considered, and
 to others little or no satisfaction was to be afforded. A
 portion of church lands was assigned to the university; but
 the rest of these, and of other forfeited lands not yet ap-
 propriated, were left to be distributed at the discretion of
 parliament. In order to prevent future litigation, courts
 were established at Dublin and Athlone to settle all disputes
 within a limited time. The province of Connaught and
 county of Clare were reserved for the Irish, who were to
 get, in return for their former possessions, allotments of
 land there; that being cut off from communication by
 the Shannon, and restrained by English garrisons, they
 might be prevented from corrupting and disturbing the
 other settlers. An English act of parliament was passed,
 confirming the above mode of arrangement, but for many
 sufficient reasons, it was, in many cases, not rigidly en-
 forced.

Cromwell
 protector.

During these transactions in Ireland, Cromwell, having
 brought his schemes of ambition to maturity, introduced
 soldiers into the House of Commons of England, and by
 military force turned out the members of that parliament,
 whose opposition to royal authority had excited such notice
 through all Europe. In their place he collected a parcel
 of fanatics from the three kingdoms, of whose ridiculous
 acts he became so much ashamed, that he at last obliged
 them to pronounce their own dissolution. The military
 having now the sole power, he was declared, by a council
 of officers, protector of the three kingdoms. Fleetwood,
 his son-in-law, exerted himself to get him proclaimed pro-
 tector in Ireland; and having called the commissioners
 together, with some principal officers, for that purpose, met
 with such a strenuous opposition, that his proposal was only
 carried by a majority of one. By the *instrument* of govern-
 ment, which was drawn up by Cromwell and his friends, it

was required, that a parliament should be summoned for the three kingdoms, consisting of members from each, who were to be chosen apparently by a free election. Of these it was appointed that Ireland should send thirty; but though the people seemed to have liberty of choice, the members elected here were entirely in the interest of government. When this parliament met, and showed a spirit of opposition, Cromwell took an effectual method to suppress it, by clapping a guard of soldiers at the door, to prevent the refractory members to enter.

The difficulty with which a majority could be obtained among the commissioners to declare him protector having excited a disgust in him, he put an end to their authority, and appointed Fleetwood lord-deputy for three years. To him he assigned a new council, affording them all very useful directions for the government of the country, and advising them, with pious zeal, to “suppress idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness.” The sanctity of his professions, though so suitable to their ancient habits, was not sufficient to reconcile many of his old friends, especially the violent republicans, to his conduct. Among these Ludlow distinguished himself by exciting disaffection among the military, who were then ready to attend to him, being disappointed by the delay they met with in obtaining the portions of land that were promised them. To such a height did their disaffection extend, that a detachment mutinied when ordered over to England to support the protector against the royalists, declaring that they might be employed against their best friends. Ludlow being considered the principal malcontent, his motions were narrowly watched, and in order to diminish his influence, his regiment was disbanded.

On account of such opposition to his measures, Cromwell sent Henry, his second son, over to Ireland, and having employed him at first in a military capacity, afterwards appointed him lord-deputy in the place of Fleetwood. Before this time he had already resided a short while here, when he discovered the excellent qualities he possessed, which induced his father to send him over a second time with more authority, in the supposition that his presence

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Symptoms
of mutiny.

1655.

Henry
Cromwell
lord-deputy

CHAP. would be useful to conciliate the affections of the people of
XIV. Ireland.

His excel-
lent admi-
nistration.

In his expectation, it appears, he was not disappointed; for the administration of Henry was mild, just, and benevolent, and tended to reconcile to the usurpation many of those who were particularly averse to it, and even the original Irish themselves. Towards these the protector had of late shown some indulgence, by directing that the orders of the late parliament and council for transplanting the Irish into Connaught should not be very strictly enforced. The attachment of the people to his government, owing to the conciliatory disposition of his son, was eminently displayed in the following instance. When his own regiment, in a petition to him, publicly declared their dissatisfaction, addresses were transmitted to him from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the protector against all those whose particular animosities might excite them to embroil the country again. Such zealous attachment must seem astonishing, especially when the wretched state of the country is considered, exhausted with war and pestilence, and oppressed with the grievous taxes which Cromwell was obliged to raise, not only to defray the public expense, but also to enable him to reward his adherents.

Death of
Cromwell.

During his short usurpation, by his magnanimity and discernment, the affairs of Britain, both at home and abroad, were conducted with remarkable success. But he found, by woful experience, that the attainment of the highest object of ambition, when procured by iniquitous means, cannot secure human happiness. Amidst the splendid honours he possessed, the terrors of a guilty conscience, and the continual dread of assassination, clouded his gay prospects, embittered all his pleasures, and hurried him to the grave. He died of a tertian ague in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Sept. 3,
1658.

Henry re-
called.

So firmly was his authority established, that his son Richard succeeded quietly to his situation, and confirmed his brother in the government of Ireland; but he soon shrunk from a charge for which his slender abilities were unfit. The office of protector was now abolished, Cromwell's parliament dissolved by military power, and the old

rump parliament restored. The parliamentary commissioners of Ireland were also restored, and the command of the army there committed to Ludlow, a zealous and active partisan. Henry Cromwell was of course recalled, who had acted with great prudence in the critical situation in which he was placed; for though he had exerted himself with vigour in his brother's support, he, at the same time, took suitable measures to preserve the public peace. He retired with great complacency from power, which he had used with so little regard to his private interest, that he had not reserved for himself so much money as would bear his expenses to England.

Ludlow, who succeeded to the command of the forces, being a strenuous adherent of the rump parliament, sent troops over to England, to support them against some attempts of the royalists, but colonel Lambert, another of their partisans, being offended at this parliament for assuming, as he supposed, too great authority, formed schemes against them among the officers of his brigade. When their schemes were completed they sent them a petition, very modestly requesting them to relinquish their authority, which was opposed by a counter-petition from the officers of Ireland, effected by the interest of Ludlow, who set out for England to support the measures of his party, leaving colonel John Jones, a zealous republican, in the command of the army. But his presence was ineffectual, as the interposition of a military force prevented the assembling of the rump parliament.

Republic-
ans at va-
riance.

These disputes of the republican party among themselves tended to increase the hopes that the royalists entertained of the king's sudden restoration, which they began to conceive from the time that Richard Cromwell had abdicated his authority. Their schemes, which were conducted with great secrecy and profound dissimulation, were also extended to Ireland, where they were adopted by a considerable number of protestants, by the inhabitants of the English race, and the more moderate of the confederate Irish. Many, indeed, joined them through disgust, being offended at the severity with which they were treated by the commissioners, who dismissed a number of officers on

Proceed-
ings of the
royalists.

CHAP. the supposition of their being hostile to their party. A-

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Among these were lord Broghill and sir Charles Coote. Broghill, who was a friend to Charles I, being trepanned by Cromwell, became active in his support; but perceiving, from the anarchy and sudden revolution of power prevalent in England after his death, that the restoration of the king would be the consequence, he resolved to secure his share of the merit in time. Accordingly, he endeavoured secretly to bring over to his designs his officers, friends, and dependents, and also sir Charles Coote, who had already shewn an aversion both to the faction of the rump parliament and the army. Perceiving the approaching ruin of his party, he found it for his interest to accede to the proposals of Broghill, which he did with great ardour, displaying, like new converts, an intemperate zeal on the occasion. Other officers of considerable consequence followed his example, among whom were lord Montgomery and sir Theophilus Jones, and having assembled at Dublin, under pretence of petitioning government, made a sudden attack on the castle, of which they possessed themselves, and arrested John Jones with some of his active partisans. In the mean while, sir Charles Coote, impatient to show his zeal, surprised Galway and Athlone, and other royalists took possession of Youghall, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda. All these, after the example of their friends in England, declared for a free parliament, the real tendency of which language was then generally understood.

A council of officers now assumed the government of Ireland, and summoned a convention of estates, who expressed their abhorrence of the late king's murder, and having secured the army by providing for the payment of their arrears and future maintenance, declared also for a free parliament. Ludlow having arrived at this time in the port of Dublin, the council of officers attempted to seize him, but he made his escape to Duncannon, whence he sent letters to the officers of the several garrisons, for the purpose of confirming them in their attachment to his cause; but he was soon after recalled to England.

Charles II. These movements seemed tending towards the restoration
proclaimed. of Charles, who had already been informed of the favourable

appearances in Ireland, and had received an invitation to come thither from lord Broghill, and strong assurances of support from sir Charles Coote. But as the proceedings of Monk, from which high expectations were entertained, must have a powerful effect on England, and as this country must follow the example of the other, on that account it was judged expedient by the king's council, that he should not remove from his present position until the issue of English affairs should be discovered. His majesty, however, made some general professions of principle at Breda, to which, by the advice of Monk, he had retired from the Spanish territories. With these general declarations the majority of the convention and council of officers expressed themselves satisfied, being urged to this decision by Coote, who persuaded them to submit all their interests implicitly to the king. Broghill indeed advised more caution, but the opinion of the other prevailed. Charles was now proclaimed with every demonstration of joy through all the great towns of Ireland, and by a vote of the convention a present of twenty thousand pounds was ordered to his majesty, four thousand to the duke of York, and two thousand to the duke of Gloucester.

CHAPTER XV.

Violences of the Irish—Restrictions—Claimants—Royal declaration—A parliament—Act of settlement—Ormond lord-lieutenant—Discontents among dissenters—Episcopacy restored—Conspiracy suppressed—Bill of explanation—Passed—English act respecting Irish cattle—Ormond's regard to useful institutions—Intrigues against him—succeeded by Berkley—Disputes among the catholics—Partiality of Berkley—Charles attached to popery—Suspicion of the protestants—Essex lord-lieutenant—Address of the English parliament—Its effects on Charles—Essex removed—Ormond restored—Popish plot—Attempts against Ormond—Arbitrary measures of Charles—His death.

C H A P. XV. **T**HE restoration of Charles II. afforded abundant cause both of hope and fear to the several inhabitants of Ireland, who were so much divided among themselves. Those who had been deprived of their lands conceived hopes of having them restored to them, and those who had not yet got a reward for their services expected now to receive it; while those who had obtained lands by forfeiture were apprehensive of losing them, and those who had so far escaped punishment for their crimes were afraid of its overtaking them at last. Hence the several parties viewed each other with peculiar aversion, jealousy, and distrust. But of all others the native Irish exhibited on this occasion the most impatience. Many of those whom Cromwell had declared innocent of the rebellion, and yet were ejected from their estates, and obliged to accept of inadequate portions of land in Connaught, or the county of Clare, exulting in the extinction of that fanatical tyranny by which they were oppressed, and confident of the support of the present government, without waiting for the king's being proclaimed, or the slow procedure of law, took possession of their former properties, expelling the new intruders.

Restric-
tions.

These violent deeds were very suitable to the inclinations of the new settlers, who took occasion to represent them in

1660.
Violence
of the
Irish.

England as the primary acts of a new rebellion, well knowing that every rumour to the disadvantage of the native Irish was received in that country with avidity. Hence orders were sent to put in force the rigid ordinances lately made against the Irish Roman catholics. They were not allowed to pass from one province to another in their ordinary business, and in many other respects were liable to very severe restrictions. The king, on his arrival, at the instigation of the English parliament, was obliged to publish a proclamation against Irish rebels, and in favour of the adventurers and soldiers who had possession of their properties. Yet he frequently showed kindness to the Irish catholics, when he was allowed to follow the bent of his inclinations, and in some cases, on their solicitation, afforded them letters to put them in possession of their former estates.

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In the present situation of the country, he was indeed Claimants. distracted with a variety of claims, which it was at length found impossible for him to satisfy in their full extent. On account of the late rebellion, there were certainly a great many forfeitures of lands; but a considerable quantity had been distributed among Cromwell's soldiers, the generality of whom, as they had arms in their hands, it was not thought prudent to dispossess, and large grants had been made to the duke of York and general Monk. Hence the remaining portion designed for distribution was not so great as might be expected. The different claimants either for reward, restitution, or settlement in their present possessions were as follow: 1. The adventurers who had advanced their money for the suppression of the rebellion, on the promise of restitution from the forfeited lands. 2. The protestant Irish army who had returned to their duty, and concurred in the restoration. 3. The protestant Irish officers, who had served the king before 1649, called usually the forty-nine officers, to whom Cromwell had refused any arrears, on account of their attachment to the royal cause. 4. The confederate Irish, with whom the king had made peace in 1648. 5. Those of them who had showed great loyalty and affection to him during his exile. 6. The innocent papists, who had been compelled to take small

CHAP. portions of land in Connaught or the county of Clare, in
 XV. return for their properties.

Royal de-
 claration.

A scheme of restitution to the meritorious Irish, after the establishment of the adventurers and soldiers in their possession, was proposed to his majesty by some courtiers, which he thought fit to adopt, and accordingly published a declaration for the settlement of Ireland, containing the mode by which the claimants were to get restitution, and the terms on which it was to be given. This declaration he sent over to Ireland, addressed to the lords-justices, to have it executed. These were sir Maurice Eustace, lord-chancellor, lord Broghill, now earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, now earl of Montrath, who were appointed to that office in the absence of Monk, lord-lieutenant, who had been created duke of Albemarle.

This declaration, however, did not satisfy the expectation of every party concerned; but the loyal officers, who had been denied their arrears by Cromwell, and the Irish who pleaded their innocence, particularly complained; the former of a very inadequate provision, the latter both of the injustice of being kept out of their lands until those to whom they were granted should be indemnified, and also of the rigid severity of the qualifications necessary to prove their innocence; for if one of them had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels he was considered as guilty.

1661.
 A parlia-
 ment.

An Irish parliament, which was much desired in the present situation of affairs, was now convened, and as the adventurers and soldiers kept possession of their properties in the boroughs, no catholics were returned. Indeed, an attempt was made to exclude them in future from the house, as a resolution was passed requiring each member to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a similar attempt was made in the house of lords, by a resolution that each member should receive the sacrament from the protestant primate's own hand. But government refused to give their approbation to the measure.

Act of set-
 tlement.
 1662.

In the parliament thus constituted, after much discussion and delay, the heads of a bill of settlement was formed, suitable to the king's declaration, and presented to the lords in order to be transmitted to England. Either each house

sent their agents, as did also the Irish catholics and adventurers. The latter took a very effectual method to gain friends to their cause, for they sent over a considerable sum of money to be distributed among those who could support their interest; but the Irish had neither money nor friends, and besides were looked on with horror by the English nation, who considered them all, without distinction, as guilty of rebellion and massacre. However, the duke of Ormond (though catholic historians deny the fact) was sincerely inclined to serve them; but their agents made their application to the duke of York's favourite, colonel Richard Talbot, one of their own persuasion, and brother to an Irish jesuit. Hence, instead of modestly owning their faults, according to Ormond's advice, they boldly pleaded their merits, boasting of their own and their ancestor's loyalty, with as much confidence as if there had never been a rebellion in Ireland. This caused their adversaries, who were very numerous, to find proof, among other offences, of their forming a design to cast off all obedience to the crown of England. Accordingly, they produced to the committee for Irish affairs, an original paper from the supreme council of Ireland, offering the kingdom of Ireland to the pope, or, if he declined it, to any other catholic prince. This paper was signed by sir Nicholas Plunket, a noted partisan of the nuncio, whom the Irish had the indiscretion to employ as an agent on the present occasion, which gave such offence at the English court that no more attention would be paid to their complaints. This indiscretion afforded the king an excuse for neglecting their interest somewhat in the formation of the bill of settlement, which, indeed, he would have been obliged to do at any rate, in order to please the English parliament. The bill was now finished and transmitted to Ireland, where it was soon after passed by the two houses.

During the discussion of this business the duke of Ormond was appointed lord-lieutenant, he having, as well as lord Inchiquin, been previously restored to his Irish estates by the English parliament. From the Irish parliament he received a present of thirty thousand pounds, and his son, lord Ossory, was called by writ to the house of lords of Ireland. After long expectation the duke arrived in this

C H A P. country with great pomp, and gave the royal assent to the
XV. act of settlement, and to one laying a tax on hearths and chimnies.

The execution of the act of settlement was entrusted to English commissioners, disengaged from all interests in Ireland, who were on that account more likely to be impartial, and their impartiality, indeed, is owned by the catholic historians. They sat in Dublin to receive claims and hear proofs of innocency ; and in the first three months, notwithstanding the rigorous qualifications required, one hundred and sixty eight of the Irish were declared innocent, and only nineteen criminal. The former, by a clause in the act, were to be immediately restored to their estates, without any restitution being made to their present possessors. Such decisions gave great offence not only to the adventurers and soldiers actually dispossessed, but also to others, who were apprehensive of it. The soldiers, in particular, were inclined to be dissatisfied, being mostly republicans, and removed from the army on that account by the present government. They therefore became even more averse to it, and by their exertions served to augment the number and power of the discontented.

Episcopacy
restored.

The peevishness of this party was also increased by the episcopal clergy being restored to all their tithes and glebes, which took place soon after the king's accession, and the presbyterian ministers, to whom they were attached, being deprived of those they had possessed. Hence a scheme of insurrection was forming here, in conjunction with the disaffected in England, in which several of the dissenting teachers were engaged.

Conspiracy
suppressed.

This spirit of dissatisfaction was heightened by the Irish commons, who countenanced complaints against the commissioners of claims, and offered a petition to the lord-lieutenant and council, desiring that they would direct these commissioners, as they were empowered by the act, to determine all claims after a manner they proposed, which would certainly be favourable to the protestants, but very detrimental to the catholics. This petition being discountenanced by government, they made use of angry language on the occasion, which, by the exertions of Ormond, they

thought fit to retract, but passed an address to him, representing the danger arising from the confluence of popish priests, friars, and jesuits, and recommending bills for the purpose of enforcing the oaths of supremacy, and banishing all popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom. Such expressions tended to encourage the conspirators in their designs, which were not confined to the capital, but extended to different parts of the kingdom, and especially to the northern province, where arms and ammunition were prepared, and disbanded soldiers engaged. Their plot was, however, discovered to Ormond at the very beginning, who took measures to prevent its execution; and, on the very eve before the day on which they intended to surprise the castle of Dublin, twenty-five of the principals were seized. Yet the situation of government was such, that they did not think it prudent to treat these delinquents with severity, and of course the most of them were pardoned.

1663.

The act of settlement, it now appeared, was in many respects inadequate for the purpose for which it was intended, and therefore the commissioners could not proceed in the execution of it in its present form. An explanatory bill had been transmitted to England by the commons, but rejected by the king, who gave orders to have a new one formed by the lord-lieutenant and privy-council. His commands were obeyed, and the bill sent over to England, where the agents from the several parties again met, and discussed the business with great eagerness before the council. The principal point of dispute was about the clauses to be inserted in the new bill, which afforded abundant subject for memorials, proposals, objections, and complaints. In the midst of these disputes, Ormond was called over to England, in hopes that his influence would tend to abate the violence of contending parties.

Bill of explanation.

1664.

But his presence had not the desired effect: argument, reason or respect for superiors could not overcome their eagerness for their own private interests. At length when they were all quite wearied with contention, and seemed willing to relax somewhat of their respective pretensions, in order to obtain some stability, it was proposed by the agents of the Irish catholics, that the adventurers and soldiers should

C H A P. resign one-third of their lands. The proposal was accepted
XV. by the several agents, and on this principle the bill of explanation was framed and presented to the privy council.

1665. In this new bill it was declared, that the protestants in the first place were to be settled, and any ambiguity interpreted in the sense most favourable to their interests. It was also declared, that all the Irish, whose claims had not been already settled, should be deemed disqualified, on this principle, that those who were innocent would first offer their case for examination, and that the guilty would be tardy in coming forward. The commissioners had declared six hundred innocent, who were of course to be immediately restored to their possessions; but the remainder of these unhappy people, amounting to more than three thousand persons, were to get no further hearing, being condemned without a fair and equal trial, which is usually granted to the worst malefactors.

Ormond, in order to remedy this grievance, had some time before proposed that the lord-lieutenant and six of the privy council should be empowered to nominate as innocent such other persons as they knew from constant experience to be loyal, but his proposal was rejected by the English council. By the present bill only twenty persons were to be restored to their estates, who were to be nominated by him, and indeed no one seemed fitter to make the selection, since, in the business of the settlement, he had shown a disregard to his own private interest by discharging himself the debts and mortgages on his estate, in order to facilitate an accommodation, though these were contracted in the public service, and granted to him by the act of settlement. Yet his memory is still defamed with vague and unmerited obloquy by the catholic historians.

Passed.

Having, on his return to Ireland, brought over with him the explanatory bill, he found, that though it was considered grievous by the native Irish, it was by no means satisfactory to the commons, who were not satisfied with the provision it afforded for themselves and their friends. He therefore found it necessary to exert himself to secure a majority, which he attempted by filling up the vacant places with the friends of government; but he thought on a surer

method to effect this, by working on the fears of the commons. Accordingly, on the first day of the session he produced to them a letter from the king, animadverting severely on their conduct with respect to the late conspiracy. Apprehensive of a dissolution, by which another parliament might be called less friendly to their interests, they became more compliant, and expelled seven of their members on a charge of being concerned in the plot. Hence they afforded a favourable attention to the explanatory bill, which passed unanimously. For the execution of it five commissioners were appointed, who, in difficult cases, were to resort to the lord-lieutenant and council. These cases were so numerous, and the applications to the state so frequent, that it took up many years before the business was finally settled.

Scarcely had Ireland got respite from commotion when the English parliament took measures to deprive it of that repose which it had but a short time enjoyed. The rents in England having considerably decreased, owing to the number of industrious puritans who had been driven by persecution to Holland and America, to the interruption of the trade with Spain, and the ruinous commerce carried on with France, with other causes, it was ascribed by some persons of consequence, who were desirous of embarrassing Ormond, to the importation of Irish cattle into England. The idea was eagerly caught by the English parliament, which, in 1663, passed an act forbidding the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July every year. With this slight restraint, however, they were not satisfied, for, in the year 1665, a bill was introduced for the purpose of perpetually prohibiting the importation of all cattle of every description from Ireland. In opposition to this bill it was argued, that it would not only be destructive to that country, but also injurious to England, which disposed of its manufactures in Ireland, in return for the provisions it received, that the prohibition of these to England would cause a rise in the price of manufactures there, and render the Irish unable to pay taxes for the support of the army and government. But these and such like other arguments had no effect on the commons, who were entirely actuated by prejudice, and declared in the preamble to the bill, that

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October 26,
1665.

1666.
English act
respecting
Irish cattle.

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However, the discussion of it was renewed there at the next meeting, being urged on, for their own interested motives, by the English *Cabal*. Buckingham, the chief of them, in the eagerness of debate, declared, 'that none would oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates or Irish understanding.' Enraged at this national reflection, Lord Ossory, he gallant son of the duke of Ormond, sent him a challenge, which he did not think fit to accept, but made a complaint to the house of lords, who ordered Ossory to the tower, where he was confined two days. After having expunged the word *nuisance* from the preamble of the bill, the lords were obliged to restore it, in order to please the commons, to which the king himself, for the same reason, gave his approbation. The bill having passed, got the royal assent, which was given with great reluctance, and the prohibitory laws had at present a very pernicious effect on the country.

Ormond's
regard to
useful in-
stitutions.

With an intent to diminish this effect, the chief-governor turned his thoughts towards the encouragement of manufactures, introducing into the kingdom several persons skilled in the manufacture of woollens, and fixed an establishment of this sort at Clonmel, and Carrick on Suir, a town belonging to himself. Nor was his benevolent attention confined to this fabric. In imitation of lord Strafford, in the most honourable part of his conduct, he particularly exerted himself to promote the linen manufacture. He sent to Holland to obtain information with respect to the proper mode of conducting it, and had a number of families brought over from France, Germany, and elsewhere, by whose example and instruction the people might get a more perfect knowledge of it.

For the advancement of literature and religion he also showed similar solicitude, by endeavouring to effect the promotion of the native clergy of the established church, being sensible that if they had equal learning and piety with

foreigners they were not only better entitled to a preference, C H A P.
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but, from their knowledge of the country, more capable of doing good. And in order to render them qualified for such preferments, he paid particular attention to the university of Dublin, which he found in great disorder after the public commotions, and entrusted the regulation of it to Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, the pious and learned bishop of Down.

Though the interests of Ireland employed his chief care, yet his solicitude was sometimes extended beyond the confines of this country. He exerted himself to raise a contribution for the relief of the unhappy people who had suffered by the fire of London, and his laudable endeavours were attended with success. A subscription was opened for that benevolent purpose, by means of which thirty thousand beeves were sent over. Of this disinterested act of kindness his enemies in England, however, gave a malignant interpretation.

The chief study of these was to secure to themselves the sole power, and being envious of the authority he possessed, Intrigues
against
him. they laboured incessantly to effect his disgrace. His friend the chancellor had already fallen, and Buckingham, the prime minister, and head of the Cabal, was eager to complete his triumph by having Ormond removed from his posts of steward of the household and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. With this intent he brought an accusation against him, consisting of several articles, the principal of which were, that he tried the mutineers at Carrickfergus by martial law in time of peace, and that he quartered soldiers on the subject contrary to act of parliament. 1668.

In 1666, the garrison of Carrickfergus rose up in mutiny, and seized the town. For the suppression of this mutiny Ormond exerted himself with vigour; he sent his son, lord Arran, against them by sea, and proceeded himself by land with the few forces he could depend on. After some resistance, the mutineers surrendered, and nine of them were executed by martial law. Thus was the tranquillity of the kingdom preserved. Yet of this a formal charge was made, as also of his quartering soldiers on the people for the safety of his government, according to the usual prac-

CHAP. tice of his predecessors, because it was found out to be con-
 XV. trary to an obscure and obsolete act of Henry VI.

Succeeded
 by Berkley.

Ormond, being resolved to refute the charges in person, went over to England, leaving his government to the care of his gallant son lord Ossory. On his arrival he found that the Cabal had used violent efforts to disgrace him, though Buckingham, the principal, made him fair professions. It was also attempted to possess the king with an opinion that he had mismanaged the revenue, which would be very offensive to his majesty in his present necessities; but after a long inquiry it appeared there was no ground for accusation. Though Charles did not certainly possess a suitable gratitude for his faithful services, yet, for shame's sake, he thought fit to observe the appearance of attachment to him, and even promise him protection; but the power of the Cabal was not to be resisted; he was therefore at length obliged to discover himself, and consent to his removal. Lord Roberts was appointed his successor, a nobleman of a sullen temper, and stiff and solemn deportment, which rendered him disgusting to the Irish subjects, accustomed to the affable and conciliating manners of the duke of Ormond. Besides, he was rather averse to popery, which was now beginning to be considered a great fault. Being therefore unfit for effecting the designs of the Cabal, he was recalled, and succeeded by lord Berkley, a creature of Buckingham.

1670.
 Disputes
 among the
 catholics.

This nobleman, being appointed chief-governor by the popish interest, was soon after followed by the most factious adherents of that religion. Their influence was soon discovered by the partiality he displayed towards the party of catholics who professed the most profound submission to the supereminent authority of the pope. These were the strenuous partisans of the nuncio, who, by their violence, prevented an union with the loyal protestants, and thus brought down a severe chastisement, not only on themselves, but on the rest of their persuasion in Ireland. At the restoration, some of the Irish prelates and clergy, sensible that the severities they endured during the usurpation were principally derived from this cause, presented a remonstrance to Charles, acknowledging him to be supreme and lawful sove-

reign of Ireland, disclaiming all right in the pope or any foreign power to interfere with his authority, or exempt his subjects from allegiance and submission in temporal matters, and expressing their resolution to discover all conspiracies they may find out against his person and government.

This remonstrance gave great offence to the faction above mentioned, who used every means in their power to render the persons concerned in it odious. Hence the Irish catholics were divided into two parties, called Remonstrants and Anti-remonstrants, the one moderate, and the other violent in their principles. Though the pope did not openly interfere with his authority to condemn the remonstrance, which disavowed his temporal power, yet he allowed his inferior agents to censure it in his name, who declared that it would do more mischief to the church than any persecution it had suffered from the heretics. In order to produce some settlement in the business, government permitted a synod of the Roman catholic clergy to convene in Dublin in June 1666; but the Anti-remonstrants would consent to no terms of accommodation, and the meeting only tended to inflame the passions of the opposite parties against each other.

On the arrival of lord Berkley, the Anti-remonstrants exercised great severity over their opponents, depriving them, by the pope's authority, of their cures and stations, denouncing excommunications against them, and thus obliging them either to submit, or fly to foreign countries, where they might be burned as heretics for denying the pope's power in temporal affairs. A strenuous partisan of these persecutors was Peter Talbot, an Irish jesuit, brother to Richard, Buckingham's favourite, who was created by the pope archbishop of Dublin. This zealous ecclesiastic, presuming on his interest at the English court, appeared at the council in Dublin, in the habit of his order, and proposing to celebrate mass in Dublin with extraordinary splendour, he borrowed of the furniture of the castle, some hangings and plate from the secretary to the lord-lieutenant, who, it is said, told him, that he hoped high mass would soon be celebrated at Christ's church. This haughty prelate, as might be supposed, displayed great insolence in his conduct towards the Remonstrants, of which they made a complaint to Berkley, setting

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forth the disloyal and dangerous opinions entertained by him and his partisans, but strange as it may seem, with all their principles of loyalty, they got no satisfaction, but were rather treated with contempt by the governor.

Charles at-
tached to
popery.

Such partiality was contrary to his public instructions, but it was supposed he had private instructions of a different tendency; the king having before his accession become a convert to popery, with all the notions of the pope's authority entertained in foreign countries. In consequence of the royal attachment to this persuasion, catholics were permitted to take out commissions for the peace, and admitted into corporations. In Dublin, after tedious and violent contests, a popish common council was established, and some popish aldermen elected in room of protestant ones, who were displaced.

Colonel Talbot, brother to the jesuit, already mentioned, who was in high favour at the English court, having received a commission from the Irish catholics, went over to England, and made a formal complaint to the king and council of the act of settlement, by which many of the Irish were unjustly deprived of their lands, entreating, that the grants of any more lands in that country should be suspended, until some impartial persons were appointed to hear and report grievances. This application was very agreeable to the wishes of the English ministry, who had different committees appointed to examine into the business, which took up a considerable time.

Suspicion
of the pro-
testants.

In the mean while a great alarm was excited among the adventurers, soldiers, and others, who had gained by the act of settlement. These sent over counter-petitions soliciting the continuance of the act, and their cause was supported by the people of England, who were highly offended at the open encouragement given by government to the Roman catholic religion.

Essex
lord-lieu-
tenant.
1671.

A loud clamour was now raised, and the ministry, perceiving that they had been too precipitate in discovering their designs, began to assume a different tone. They affected to be displeased with lord Berkley's conduct, and dismissed him from his office of lord-lieutenant, in which he was succeeded by the earl of Essex.

With this slight expression of displeasure the English parliament was not satisfied ; but offered petitions to the king respecting Ireland, requesting he would maintain the acts of settlement and explanation, and recal the late commission of inquiry ; that he would give orders for the banishment from Ireland of popish priests of different descriptions, for the dissolution of convents and seminaries, the dismissal of papists from several offices they now held, the discouragement of popery, and support of the protestant interest.

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Address of
the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment.

Accordingly, the commission of inquiry was superseded, and the king expressed his determination to maintain the acts of settlement. The council of Dublin, on a complaint made by the ejected aldermen, declared their removal to be illegal, and ordered them to be restored.

Its effect
on Charles.

Such altercations, and the various difficulties attending the execution of the acts of settlement, with other causes of a public nature, afforded great uneasiness to the chief-governor, who was a man of real integrity, and openly expressed himself dissatisfied with the deficiencies of revenue occasioned by the king's private grants, and with the general management of the business. With great difficulty he had some measures adopted for the more effectual security of the public money. But his rigid integrity was offensive both to the king and his brother, who wished to get money by clandestine means, of which he disapproved, and openly declared he would not obey the royal orders, if contrary to law. On that account he was removed from his government.

Essex re-
moved.

In the appointment of a successor some delay took place, but at length this successor, to the general surprise, was declared to be the duke of Ormond. This nobleman, being obnoxious to the ministers, was treated by the king with great coldness, though he went every day to court, which he thought his duty. His appointment, on the present occasion, to the lieutenancy of Ireland, was owing, it is supposed, to the interference of the duke of York, who was anxious to prevent the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, from attaining that situation.

Ormond
restored.

During his former government he had inconsiderately submitted to the king's applying the public money to private uses, which caused a deficiency in the revenue ; but before

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his departure from England he laid down rules to prevent such abuses in future. On his arrival he endeavoured to put these rules in practice, and exerted himself with great diligence in the public service. In particular he endeavoured to make the army respectable, and had some useful modes adopted for the defence of the kingdom. Such regulations, however, could not be rendered effectual without supplies, and therefore, in order to get these afforded, and various public grievances redressed, he found it necessary to convene a parliament.

Popish
plot.

But while he was thus engaged in devising plans for the public benefit, he received an account from England of the popish plot, to which he was obliged to pay suitable attention, and thus all his measures were interrupted. This supposed plot raised great alarm in England, and when he was told that it extended to Ireland, and that persons were hired to assassinate himself, he seemed to pay every credit to the story. At the time the protestants of Ireland entertained such apprehensions of the secret designs of the Roman catholics, it would have been considered treasonable in one of his situation to express the least doubt of the reality of this terrible plot. Therefore, in consequence of particular instructions from the English government, he seized first Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, then afflicted with a dangerous distemper, accused of being an active conspirator; afterwards he seized his brother Richard, and lord Mountgarret, then eighty years of age, bed-ridden, and in a state of dotage, and also this nobleman's son. He also got orders requiring popish ecclesiastics to leave the kingdom, catholic seminaries to be suppressed, and the Irish of that persuasion to deliver up their arms in twenty days. To these orders he paid due attention, and exerted himself to preserve the public peace, yet applied as little rigour as possible, being firm yet moderate in the discharge of his duty.

For the suppression of certain disturbers called tories, who issued from their fastnesses, and harassed the peaceable inhabitants, he indeed took severe measures, which could be only justified by necessity. As they were usually concealed by their relations, and sometimes by the catholic priests, who still exercised their functions in several places, he pub-

lished a proclamation, ordering that the near relations of known tories should be confined, until the criminals be either killed, or brought to justice, and also, that if any murder or robbery be committed in the neighbourhood of a popish priest, and the guilty be not brought to punishment within fourteen days, the priest himself, at the expiration of that time, should be taken and transported.

Yet, while the dread of the popish plot prevailed, which was the means of shedding so much blood, he was accused by violent partisans of not being sufficiently zealous in support of the protestant cause. By some of these he was advised to take all Irish chieftains prisoners, who had lost their estates, and to expel Irish papists from corporate towns, a measure which had formerly been put in force; but the English inhabitants of these towns, finding their presence necessary, petitioned for their return. With this advice he of course did not strictly comply, though he took great precautions with respect to the admission of Irish catholics into forts. His not complying afforded a pretence for accusations against him, which were brought into the English house of lords by lord Shaftsbury, but the charge was repelled by his gallant son lord Ossory, and the king refused to attend to any application for his removal.

Yet his enemies were not discouraged by their want of success on the present occasion, and frequently renewed their charges against him of remissness in his government, and especially on the death of his gallant son lord Ossory, which caused such general grief. The king, however, continued steady in his attachment. On the supposition of a popish plot were founded all these charges of remissness, but it was at length discovered, after very severe scrutiny, that there was no popish plot in Ireland, and that its existence in England, where so much blood had been shed on its account, was very doubtful. Hence the minds of men in Ireland became composed, trade and industry increased, and the country assumed a tranquil appearance. In this situation of affairs Ormond conceived he might leave it a while with safety; and having committed the government to earl Arran he repaired to England.

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XV.

Arbitrary
measures
of Charles.

During his continuance there many events of a very disagreeable nature took place. Great offence was given to the protestant and patriotic party in that country by the arbitrary measures of the king and duke of York, and their apprehensions were excited by the prospect of a popish successor to the crown. Hence the introduction of the bill of exclusion into the house of commons, which caused Charles, after the dissolution of several parliaments, to assume the final determination of ruling for the future without the control of that assembly. By this open violence to the constitution popular discontent was excited, and a scheme of insurrection was formed by those who were most sincerely attached to the cause of liberty. Its discovery brought the amiable lord Russell to the scaffold, and also Algernon Sidney, though no legal evidence could be produced for his conviction. Such was the base compliance of those unfortunate times. By this victory over the popular party the power of the crown was increased, and Charles, indulging himself in indolent security, committed the management of public affairs to the duke of York, who proceeded boldly in the execution of arbitrary measures. Yet these measures were agreeable to persons of a certain description, for many addresses of approbation were presented to government by the tories and the catholics, who were their abettors.

His death. In the present situation of affairs, the duke of Ormond returned to Ireland, having given offence to the king and duke of York, by his refusing to countenance their schemes in favour of the catholic religion in this country. Therefore, soon after his arrival, he received a letter from the king, declaring his majesty's intention of removing him from his office, and substituting in his room the earl of Rochester, "on account of the almost general alterations that were to be made, both in the civil and military parts of the government." He was determined, however, to curtail the power of this earl in many essential points, as Richard Talbot, the well-known advocate for popery, was appointed lieutenant-general, with authority to model the army at his pleasure, even to the very appointment of the lowest officer. This caused the earl of Rochester to express some reluctance to assume the government

under such restraints, which produced some fluctuation in the king's council; but, in the mean time, the king was carried off by a sudden disorder, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, leaving behind him a character which reflects no honour on his memory; for his conduct as a man was injurious to the interests of morality, and as a prince it was hostile to the constitution of his country.

CHAP.
XV.
Feb. 6,
1685.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fair professions of James II—Militia disarmed—Protestants alarmed—Violent proceedings of Tyrconnel—His arrangements—Corporations new modelled—Attempts on the university—Partial promotions—The effect—Protestants in despair—Application to the prince of Orange—Dread of massacre—Derry secured—Resistance extended—Treachery of Hamilton—Of Tyrconnel—Retreat of protestants to Derry—Arrival of James in Ireland—Derry his first object—Dastardly conduct of Lundy—George Walker—Siege of Derry—Distresses—Apathy of Kirk—Cruel expedient of Rosen—Relief of Derry—Enniskilleners—Battle of Newtown Butler.

THE duke of York, of course, succeeded to the throne, under the title of James II. Though the late king had rather concealed his attachment to popery, the present one with more candour had constantly avowed it, and for fourteen years it was the study of the two royal brothers to establish a popish interest in Ireland. Yet James thought it necessary to have recourse to some duplicity until he was firmly seated on the throne, and, therefore, immediately on his brother's death, he declared to the council, and afterwards to parliament, "that he would preserve the government in church and state, and the rights and liberties of the nation." He soon, however, discovered his real intentions; for, the second Sunday after his accession, he went openly to mass, with all the insignia of royalty. He also sent an

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Fair professions of
James II.

C H A P. agent to Rome, with due submissions to the pope, in order
XVI. to open a way for admitting England again into the bosom
 of the catholic church. Recollecting the opposition he met with in the late reign from the duke of Ormond, he took the first opportunity of shewing his hostility to him; for, immediately on his accession, he sent him orders to resign his government of Ireland to two lords-justices. From the aspect of public affairs in this country, the protestants were filled with apprehensions, and in proportion as they were depressed, the catholics were elated, and inspired with extravagant expectations. Every day were numbers of the popish gentry seen crowding in triumph to the capital.

In the appointment of the lords-justices, however, no cause of alarm was afforded to protestants. The persons chosen were Boyle, primate and chancellor, and Forbes, earl of Granard, who seemed desirous in a temperate manner to promote the interests of their own religion, and secure the tranquillity of the country. Yet their situation was by no means agreeable. Granard, in particular, was so much perplexed by the insolence of the catholics, the terrors of the protestants, and the clamours of all parties, that he expressed a desire to be removed from his office. But James did not seem willing to comply with his request, as he considered his services necessary at present, and therefore he sent him a letter, written with his own hand, assuring him that nothing should be done in Ireland prejudicial to the protestant interest. With these assurances, the lords-justices laboured to allay the fears of the protestants, and with due effect; for when an attempt was made in England and Scotland, by Monmouth and his followers, to disturb the government of James, the public peace was still preserved in Ireland. Of this attempt the protestants here expressed their abhorrence, and such was the loyalty of the Irish forces, composed of protestants, that they marched with alacrity to the north, in order to pass over to Scotland, if necessary, to oppose the adherents of Argyle.

Militia
disarmed.

The power of James being increased by the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, which had been rashly undertaken, and feebly executed, he thought it no longer necessary to delay the execution of the measures which he had

devised. Under the pretence of the contagion of the rebellion being widely diffused, he gave orders to the lords-justices to deprive the militia of their arms, and deposit them in the king's stores. The militia had been formed by the duke of Ormond, and consisting entirely of protestants bred up with a horror for Irish catholics, received the order with consternation, as they expected then to be exposed defenceless to their fury. They were, however, obliged to submit without delay, as the catholics, now become insolent through success, threatened with the vengeance of government any who were tardy in their compliance.

Though the justices had the orders strictly enforced for disarming the militia, yet it was thought expedient that a lord-lieutenant should be appointed, who would have more authority to put the king's designs in execution. For this office lord Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law, was selected, as lord Rochester, his other brother-in-law, who had been formerly appointed, was now advanced to the office of lord-high-treasurer of England. Clarendon, having come over without delay, found the country in great confusion. On the militia being disarmed, the savage banditti, called tories, issued out from their haunts, and distressed the English protestants, while the Irish were left unmolested, and would not exert themselves to suppress these ravagers, as they were in reality their own friends and kinsmen. The grievance was so great that Clarendon got authority to restore some arms to those who were supposed fit to be entrusted, and were exposed to depredation, but he was very cautious and tardy in exercising the power allowed him. Not only were the protestant subjects exposed to the robbery above-mentioned, but also to the malignant designs of spies and informers, a set of miscreants still more detestable, who were continually striving to catch at even a shadow of information against them. The principal charge was expressions against the king when he was duke of York. Thus were persons the most innocent accused, and sometimes imprisoned, and harassed with continual apprehensions of a troublesome prosecution, arising from revenge and perjury. Daily was Clarendon teased with informations of this kind ; but, though he saw through

Protest.
ants alarm-
ed.

CHAP. their malice and falsehood, he was obliged to afford them
XVI. attention, as he well knew the prejudices the king entertained against his protestant subjects of Ireland.

Encouraged by the king's prepossessions in their favour, the Irish catholics were so bold as to prepare a petition, demanding a general reversion of the outlawries occasioned by the rebellion of 1641. Though the case of some individuals might certainly have merited attention, yet, if the petition were granted in its fullest extent, the subversion of all establishment of property would naturally have succeeded. But the Irish had no moderation in their demands: and their gentry, flushed with expectations, crowded to the court of England, where they met with a favourable reception. The seals of Ireland were now taken from Boyle, and given to sir Charles Porter, a man of distressed circumstances, and of course dependent on the crown. Three protestant judges were removed, whose places were supplied by catholics, and some lawyers of that persuasion were admitted to the council. On such occasions the oath of supremacy was dispensed with, according to orders received. The catholic ecclesiastical dignitaries officiated now in the habits of their respective orders, and the revenues of the see of Cashel and other vacant sees were reserved for the maintenance of Romish bishops. The protestant clergy were forbidden to touch on controversial points in their discourses, and, should any one presume to glance at the corruptions of popery, he was marked as disaffected and seditious.

Violent
 proceedings of Tyr-
 connel.

While protestants had such reason for alarm, their apprehensions were increased by the arrival of Richard Talbot, above-mentioned, who had been created earl of Tyrconnel. During his stay in England he had been concerned in effecting the several changes, civil and ecclesiastical, that had taken place there, and brought over with him to Ireland a commission, giving him authority, independent of the lord-lieutenant, to command and regulate the army. He also had orders for the admission of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace. On his arrival he exercised his authority with rigour, and, in fact, in his official

conduct he realized all the apprehensions entertained of him by his opponents. He dismissed from the army four thousand protestant soldiers, and three hundred officers, many of whom had purchased their commissions. The soldiers he stripped even to their clothes, and left them thus in a destitute state ; but the officers went over to the prince of Orange, with whom they returned to their own country at the revolution. His natural violence was increased by the extravagant adulations of the popish party, who hailed him as their patron and protector. He railed against the act of settlement, and condemned the proceedings of the Irish administration, offering daily insults to Clarendon. Against his violence and presumption Clarendon complained both to the king and Sunderland, the prime minister, but without effect. At length Tyrconnel went over to England, and brought formal charges of misconduct against the lord-lieutenant, who made a clear and satisfactory defence ; but being considered an unfit instrument for executing the wild projects of a bigotted and deluded sovereign, he was removed from his office. Several lords were proposed and rejected by the king, but at last Tyrconnel himself was appointed, by the interest of Sunderland, chief governor of Ireland, with the inferior title of lord-deputy, having engaged to pay that minister an annual pension from his Irish government for the recommendation.

Lord Clarendon, having resigned the sword of state to this popish deputy, embarked at Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred protestant families of that city, who abandoned a kingdom devoted to the violence of a popish administration. Sir Charles Porter, who had not proved so pliant as was expected, but acted towards all parties with equity and impartiality, was displaced from his office of chancellor, and succeeded by sir Charles Fitton, who had been convicted of forgery, but had now retrieved his character in the eyes of the king, by becoming a convert to his religion. Sir William Domville, the attorney-general, a protestant long distinguished for loyalty and abilities, was removed, and one Nagle, a popish lawyer of some acuteness, substituted in his room. There were now only three protestant judges in Ireland, who were supposed to be sufficiently compliant.

His
arrange-
ments.

CHAP. XVI. The changes in the civil and military departments continued daily, and almost the whole army of Ireland was formed of Irish catholics.

1687. The admission of these into the corporations, during the administration of Clarendon, proceeded rather slowly, but it was resolved to adopt a more compendious mode, that thus full power might be given to this party to model the parliaments at their pleasure. Tyrconnel began with the city of Dublin, of whom he demanded a surrender of their charter to the king. They refused, and transmitted a petition to his majesty, setting forth their loyalty, and humbly begging not to be deprived of their privileges. But their application was ineffectual. *A quo warranto* was immediately issued, and by means of court influence a judgment was hastily passed against their charter. Many other corporations were dissolved by the same mode; and some were induced to surrender their charters by flattery, or intimidation, without any legal process, which proved of no service to those who tried it, as the popish judges constantly decided in favour of the court. New charters were now granted, and the corporations filled up with a large majority of catholic voters. Popish sheriffs, whose services were useful for effecting the same purposes, were appointed for the several counties, and in all Ireland there was only one protestant sheriff, who was put in through mistake.

Attempts
on the uni-
versity.

The commencement of such measures in Ireland, and the attacks on the learned bodies in England, had naturally excited some apprehensions in the university of Dublin, the only protestant seminary in the kingdom. But these apprehensions were still increased by the appointment of Tyrconnel to the government. In their consternation they resolved to convert their plate into money, and had it put on board a vessel in order to get it sold in England, but it was seized in the port of Dublin by order of Tyrconnel, and could not have been preserved from his rapacity without the kind interference of Nagle, who was happily possessed of more moderation. The king indeed had formed a design on the privileges of that learned body.

During the administration of Clarendon, a mandate was sent to them from the king, directing them to admit one

Green, a Roman catholic, to a professorship of the Irish language, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. CHAP.
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But it was found that there was no establishment there for such a professorship, and Green of course was disappointed. The king, however, did not stop here. After the arrival of Tyrconnel, he sent another mandate directing one Doyle to be admitted to a fellowship without taking any oath but the oath of a fellow; but the oath of a fellow included the oath of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take, and thus the university got rid of a man both ignorant and profligate, but who made amends for all defects by becoming a convert to popery. Tyrconnel was so enraged at the disappointment, that he stopped a pension of four hundred pounds a-year allowed the university from the exchequer.

Into the several public offices persons were introduced equally unfit for their respective stations, but were supposed to possess every merit on account of their attachment to the king's religion. So little regard was paid to character, that a man was appointed a chief magistrate in a northern city, who had been condemned to the gallows for his crimes. The popish sheriffs were now found on trial ignorant and brutal, the judges shamefully partial, the military officers insolent and barbarous. Hence broils were constantly raised, and murders and robberies committed with impunity. Outlawries were daily reversed, and the sons of rebels and murderers became the particular favourites of governments. Low fellows, being raised to high stations, and having no means of supporting their rank, frequently took goods by force from industrious tradesmen who could get no redress.

Hence the credit of merchants was destroyed, trade perpetually decayed, and numbers of artisans were either reduced to beggary, or driven to other countries for subsistence. On all these accounts a very sensible decrease of the Irish revenue took place, which excited great alarm among the English ministers, who naturally attributed it to the misconduct of Tyrconnel. He therefore found it necessary to go over to England to justify himself, and leaving the government in the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, he embarked for that country. Without de-

Partial promotions.

The effect.

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lay he proceeded to Chester, accompanied by Rice, chief-baron of the exchequer, who made such plausible representations of the state of Ireland to the king, that he was ordered again to his government, where he continued to proceed with his usual violence.

Protestants
in despair.

The catholic party was now completely triumphant, and protestants had before them a dismal prospect of suffering oppression increased by insolence, and sustaining injuries without redress. The English interest, which princes and statesmen had laboured to establish in Ireland, was discouraged, depressed, and threatened with total extirpation. But new changes and commotions were approaching. The tyranny and obstinate bigotry of the king, encouraged by insidious counsellors, his disregard to the religious opinions of the English people, and their indignation, on being deprived of their just privileges, with the strong sense of liberty universally diffused among them, all tended to produce an important revolution, by which the civil and religious rights of the British subject were distinctly ascertained.

1688.

Applica-
tion to the
prince of
Orange.

Dissatisfied with the condition in which they were placed, the friends of civil liberty in England applied to William, prince of Orange, son-in-law of James, as the only person fit to afford them deliverance from the tyranny that impended. Their proposals were favourably received by William, who engaged to afford them his powerful aid towards effecting the great object at which they aimed; but still his proceedings were carried on with such secrecy, that James, for some time, had no suspicions of his designs. At length Tyrconnel got some notice of it from Amsterdam, and communicated the intelligence to the king, who treated it with derision, as did also Sunderland, the prime minister. But the infatuated monarch was soon awakened to a sense of his danger, and on the first assurance of invasion directed Tyrconnel to send him four thousand troops from Ireland. The Irish catholics also affected to despise the attempt of the prince of Orange; but when they heard of his landing in England, of his advancing towards the capital, and of James being deserted by his subjects, their insolence was of course abated. Tyrconnel himself then descended to flatter the protestants, boasting of his equal

and impartial government, but at the same time used every endeavour to raise soldiers, in which he was seconded by the popish clergy, who enjoined the people to take up arms in this time of danger. Hence an armed rabble started up in all quarters, calling themselves the king's friends, and supported themselves by open depredations. Being resisted in their violent attempt by the English inhabitants, the whole country was soon in a state of disturbance.

In the midst of this anarchy lord Alexander, of the county of Down, received a letter from a person unknown, setting forth, that the Irish catholics were to rise up to murder the protestants of every age and sex, on Sunday, the ninth of December. The same intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen of the northern province, and the news received implicit credit from those who had a horror of Irish barbarity, and were accustomed from their youth to listen to hideous stories of the rebellion and massacre of forty-one. The alarm produced by these letters was very general among the protestants through every part of the kingdom. The capital in particular became a scene of uproar and confusion. In some places the dreadful intelligence was not received till the very day stated to be that appointed for the massacre. Terrified by the news, the people started suddenly from their devotions, and fled in astonishment, being joined by many others seized with the same panic. Some rushed with trepidation to the sea-coast, and got their escape made out of the country, while others sought shelter in walled towns and protestant settlements, leaving their habitations and effects to the mercy of Irish plunderers. In the northern province, where the protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms still left among them, being resolved to stand on their defence.

The town of Derry or Londonderry, as it is now called, afforded the fugitive protestants the most shelter of any other in this province. Seated on the left of Lough-Foyle it had a communication by a ferry with the county from which it took its name. It was surrounded by a strong wall, strengthened by bastions, but was not capable of maintaining the siege of a regular army. On the first alarm of the invasion of England by the prince of Orange,

C H A P. Tyrconnel recalled the garrison of Dublin, but being soon
XVI. sensible of his error of leaving it to the government of the citizens, he detached the earl of Antrim's regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men, all papists, to take up their quarters in this town. Having arrived on their march at Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, precisely at the time when the inhabitants received the information of the intended massacre, the proprietor of the village, George Philips, instantly sent a message to Derry, giving a terrible description of them, and advising the inhabitants not to receive them. The messenger found the people already armed by the general reports of danger, and irresolute what course to pursue. Some were for resistance, others for submission, and in the midst of their perturbation and discordant councils the catholic regiment approached, and an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry-gate. At this critical moment nine spirited young men of the populace, drew their swords, as it were by a sudden impulse, raised the draw-bridge, and locked the Ferry-gate. Joined by numbers of their own rank, they secured the other gates, and assembling in the great square, seized the magazine. Soon they were countenanced by men of better rank, and at length the body of the inhabitants caught the same spirit, and declared for a bold defence. Their numbers increasing every day by a conflux from the surrounding districts, Philips of Limavaddy was chosen their governor, and Cairns, the most considerable of their party, was commissioned to solicit succours from the prince of Orange. At the same time the magistrates and graver citizens, considering it necessary in their present situation to endeavour to conciliate government, addressed themselves to Tyrconnel, through lord Mountjoy, stating their inability to restrain the populace, apprehensive of massacre, and declaring their resolution to confine themselves to self-defence, without violating their allegiance.

Tyrconnel now perceived, when it was too late, the error he had committed in withdrawing the garrison from Derry, and endeavouring to correct it, dispatched lord Mountjoy, and Lundy, his lieutenant colonel, with six companies, to reduce the city. Mountjoy, being a protestant lord, was

himself highly acceptable to the people, and, after various conferences, was at length admitted on conditions. These were, that a free pardon should be granted within fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only should be quartered in the city; that one half at least of the forces afterwards admitted should be protestants; that, until the pardon was received, the citizens should keep guard; and that all who thought fit should be at liberty to remove. Mountjoy was now considered as a friend, and arms and ammunition were procured by his orders.

The example of Derry excited a spirit of generous emulation among the northern protestants. Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, refused admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel's popish army. In Down, Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan, parties arose, under the direction of their respective leaders, united for self-defence, and for the support of the protestant religion. County councils were nominated, and a general council to meet at Hillsborough, invested with the power of appointing officers, and directing the operations of the associates.

In the mean while Tyrconnel, who continued in the capital, was so much terrified at the success of the prince of Orange in England, and at the spirit of resistance arising in Ireland, that he had some intentions of abandoning the kingdom in despair. But this prince was too much engaged in England to take the advantage of his trepidation, and therefore could only make an attempt to tamper with him. For this purpose he was recommended to employ Richard Hamilton, a catholic general, who had been sent over to England on the first rumour of an invasion, and was then in some degree in his custody. Being considered as a man of honour, as he had served with repute in the French army, the prince acceded to his proposal of going over to Ireland, and prevailing on his friend the deputy to resign the government. On this errand he was allowed to set out, but on his arrival in Dublin, instead of executing the commission he had undertaken, he advised Tyrconnel to maintain his station, assuring him that the affairs of England began to assume an aspect favourable to James, and that nothing was wanting but the firmness of his friends to reinstate him.

CHAP. His advice was followed by the deputy, who employed him
XVI. in his military capacity in Ireland.

Of Tyr-
connel.

This governor, however, found it still expedient to dissemble, and therefore assured the protestant lords of his readiness to submit to the prince of Orange. By his plausible professions of attachment, he so much imposed on lord Mountjoy, that he persuaded him to repair to James, in company with chief-baron Rice, a violent papist, in order to represent to the king the weak state of Ireland, and the necessity of his yielding to the times at present, instead of exasperating his English subjects by a vain attempt to conquer England with Irish forces. Mountjoy, after some stipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the protestants, departed; but on his arrival at Paris he was committed to the Bastile, while Rice employed himself in soliciting succours for the service of James. In the mean while Tyrconnel, having gradually discovered himself, at length became outrageous, and utterly denied the stipulations which he had made with Mountjoy. He raised new catholic regiments, wrested from the protestants, in all places subject to his power, the fire-arms still remaining in their hands, seized their horses, insulted their persons, and plundered their houses. Temple, son of sir William, at whose instance Hamilton had been sent over to Ireland, was so much distressed at the unhappy issue of his advice, that, in the bitterness of his anguish, he put an end to his own life.

Retreat of
protestants
to Derry.

These violent proceedings of the deputy were not, however, sufficient to suppress the exertions of the protestants in different quarters. In some parts of Ulster they had the courage to proclaim William and Mary; and in the town of Newry a number of them assembled in military array. Against these a body of troops were dispatched under general Hamilton, at whose approach they retired before superior numbers, but were overtaken at Dromore, and defeated with considerable loss. By this defeat they seemed entirely dispersed, but a good number of them were afterwards collected by some spirited leaders. Of these some retired to Colerain, which they fortified, and others retreated to Enniskillen. Lord Blaney, proceeding with a body of protestants to the relief of those in Colerain, was attacked in his

march by the garrison of Charlemont and Mountjoy, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Colerain was some time after assaulted by the Irish; but being not considered tenable, it was deserted by the garrison who made good their retreat. The only place of refuge in the more northern parts to the fugitive protestants was Londonderry, which has been rendered celebrated by the noble defence made by its garrison and citizens, who exhibited such courage, patience, and perseverance in the common cause as have transmitted their memory with admiration to future ages.

When James found himself deprived of his dominions, he threw himself on the mercy of Lewis, by whom he was kindly received, and discovering but little sensibility at the loss of his crown, he was involved in exercises of abject superstition. His principal occupation was holding conferences on the mysteries of religion with the jesuits, into whose order he had been initiated. Having roused himself at last, he applied to Lewis for aid to restore him to his dominions, and, after vexatious delays, succeeded in obtaining his request. On the twelfth of March this unhappy monarch embarked at Brest, with an army of twelve hundred of his native subjects, and one hundred French officers, attended by fourteen ships of war, six frigates and three fire-ships. The whole armament having arrived at Kinsale, a landing was effected on the twenty-second without opposition. Immediately he proceeded to Dublin, and made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, being met at the castle gate by a solemn procession of popish ecclesiastics, secular and regular, in their proper habits, bearing the host, which the king publicly adored with great fervency.

Addresses were instantly presented to him from all orders of the people. To each he returned a gracious and conciliating answer, but his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion by the protestants, when all the remaining persons of that persuasion were removed from the council, and their places supplied by others of different principles. He now issued five proclamations. In the first he ordered his subjects of every persuasion to unite against the prince of Orange, and all protestants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection; in the

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Arrival of
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C H A P. XVI. second he made some attempts to suppress robbery, and commanded all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes; in the third he invited the country to carry provisions to his troops; in the fourth he raised the value of money, and in the fifth summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin on the seventh of May.

Derry his first object. After these formal acts of royalty he proceeded with his military operations. The first object of his attention was Derry, where he supposed he would meet with the most resistance, and towards this city he led his army in person.

Dastardly conduct of Lundy. After the departure of lord Mountjoy the government of this important place had been committed to colonel Lundy, a man who affected a great attachment to the protestant cause, and excessive indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. However, on several accounts he was suspected of partiality to James; yet so great was the prince of Orange's embarrassment that he was obliged to trust and employ him. At the time the citizens were very suspicious of his designs, and were rather in a desponding situation, their spirits were somewhat raised by the return of their agent from London, with assurances from the prince of Orange that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this information they now prepared for a vigorous defence, and even Lundy himself seemed to have caught the general enthusiasm, declaring that he was resolved to march against the enemy. In compliance with this supposed resolution he stationed his forces at certain points within a few miles of Derry, with the seeming intent of opposing the progress of James, but on his approach he shamefully deserted his position, and sheltered himself within the city, shutting the gates against many others who sought for the same refuge.

At this time two English regiments arrived in Lough Foyle, the colonels of which had orders to put themselves under the command of Lundy, who directed them to come on shore themselves with some of their officers, leaving their troops on board, in order to consult on the measures necessary to be adopted in the present emergency. A council of war was now held, and, agreeably to Lundy's representations, it was determined, that the town was not tenable, that the principal officers should privately withdraw from the city, and leave the citi-

zens to make the best possible terms with the enemy. These resolutions being communicated to the town council, it was there also resolved to offer terms of capitulation to James, who slowly advanced towards the town.

When the people were informed of these proceedings, they immediately exclaimed against the governor, the council, and every suspected officer, crying aloud for vengeance against their betrayers. In the violence of resentment they slew one officer as he was hastening to make his escape, and wounded another. During this state of confusion Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement, and though commanded by Lundy to retire, he insisted on entering the town, where he was received with acclamations. He now inveighed against the base purpose of surrendering to a perfidious enemy, and endeavoured to excite Lundy to a sense of duty, but without effect. On the people he had more influence, who, being roused by his exhortations, rushed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party as they approached to take possession of the town. Reflecting on their perilous situation, they implored the officers of the two regiments not to desert them in their extremity; but, deaf to the calls of honour, they refused, and went off to England, accompanied by some other officers of similar spirit with themselves. Lundy having resigned, the command of the town was offered to Murray, who modestly declined the honour. On which the people chose two new governors, a major Baker, and the revered George Walker, by whom they were formed into two regiments, amounting to seven thousand and twenty-men, exclusive of their commanders.

The reverend George Walker, whose bold exertions on this perilous occasion have gained him such renown, was rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. At this time of danger and turbulence, when the assistance of every man became necessary, he valiantly stepped forward in the defence of law, liberty and religion. He raised a regiment, of which he took the command, and exerted himself with strenuous zeal in support of the cause in which he was engaged. He flew from post to post, conferring with the leaders, and urging them to resist with vigour the partisans of James. On the

George
Walker.

CHAP. king's approach towards Derry, he hastened to the town, **XVI.** endeavoured to rouse Lundy, entreating him to give the enemy battle before their whole strength was collected. Lundy affected some vigour, and made the puny effort at resistance already mentioned.

Assisted by the counsels of this valiant ecclesiastic, the people proceeded to take such measures as the present exigence required. The timid they allowed liberty to depart without molestation. On this occasion a number left the place, among whom was Lundy, who, in order to avoid public insult, put on a disguise, and stole off with a load on his back. Those who remained were actuated by a bold spirit, but were totally unacquainted with the art of war. The fortifications of the town were weak; not more than twenty guns were fit for service, nor had they one engineer to direct their operations. On the contrary, James was provided with all the necessary implements for a siege, and had under his command twenty thousand regular troops, who were naturally excited by his presence to the most ardent exertions.

Siege of
Derry.

With such an army, and so well provided, on the eighteenth of April, he encamped under the walls of Derry. In making a resistance to so formidable a force, the inhabitants proceeded with cool intrepidity. All matters were conducted within the town with the greatest regularity and composure; each regiment, each company, had its particular station. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, and seven dissenting ministers cheerfully shared the labours and dangers of the siege, and assembling the people every day alternately in the cathedral, by the fervour of their devotions, and energy of their exhortations, inspired their hearers with enthusiastic ardour. Influenced by motives of religion, and with passions inflamed by pious zeal, the inhabitants made an obstinate defence. For eleven days James continued his assault, but without effect. At length, impatient of disappointment, after his strenuous exertions spent in vain, he left the camp and returned to Dublin, without performing any exploit worthy of notice.

Distresses. After his departure, the garrison still continued to defeat all the attempts of the besiegers, and to harass them by

successful sallies; but at length they were assailed by pestilence, and threatened with famine; opponents too powerful for human courage and skill to repel.

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In the midst of their present sufferings and apprehensions, thirty ships sent from England for their relief, containing troops, arms, ammunition and provisions, under the command of general Kirk, appeared in Lough Foyle; but Kirk was a man, as he had already shewn, of a heart too insensible of human misery to make any hazardous attempt in their favour. Alarmed at the exaggerated accounts he received of the enemy's force, he returned no cheerful answer to the signals of the besieged, which induced the enemy, who at first were terrified at his appearance, to make preparations to oppose his passage. At each side of the lake, where it grew narrow towards the town, they placed their batteries and troops, and from the two opposite forts stretched a boom across the water, formed of strong timber, joined by iron chains, and strengthened by thick cables. On this Kirk set sail, and carried his vessels round to Lough Swilly, whence he sent the inhabitants of Derry some soothing intelligence, and general promises of aid, but at the same time advised them to husband their provisions, from which advice they drew a melancholy presage of their future sufferings.

Apathy of
Kirk.

The various distresses they apprehended began now to assail them. Every day were numbers carried off by disease, among whom was Baker, one of their governors, and the wretched survivors were scarce able from want and fatigue to support their arms. Yet they determined to persevere, and death was threatened to any one who would even talk of surrendering. Enraged at their obstinacy, Marshal Rosen, who was sent to command the besieging army, informed the garrison, that if the town was not surrendered on the first of July, all those of their party to a wide extent around should be driven under the walls. But this menace having not prevailed, he took care to put it in execution at the time appointed. On the second of July, the protestants of the surrounding country, of every age and sex, were collected and driven by his soldiers under the walls of Derry. At this sad spectacle, the garrison was transported to fury; and

Cruel ex-
pedient of
Rosen.

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yet numbers of the wretched sufferers, thus driven to perish under their walls, implored them not to consider their distress, but bravely to defend themselves against the implacable foe. During three days and nights they remained under the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them perished, and at last they were allowed to depart by the express order of James. But those who died were the most fortunate; the rest not only contracted diseases that embittered their days, and hastened their death, but on their return saw their houses reduced to ashes, of which the smoke was not yet extinguished, and found that their cattle, furniture, and provisions were carried off. The dismal sight they viewed with silent sadness; and envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries.

**Relief of
Derry.**

In the mean while, the distresses of the intrepid garrison of Derry had risen to excess. Every miserable resource for food began to fail, and even the most wretched means of subsistence could not be procured for more than two days. In this melancholy state the famished throng listened to the consolatory exhortations of Walker, who assured them from the pulpit, that the Almighty would send them a speedy deliverance. Kirk, whose inhumanity was even exceeded by the French general, being at length seized with some compunction, and apprehensive of blame if the town was taken, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve it. Two ships, laden with provisions, and convoyed by a frigate, advancing, on the thirtieth of July, in view both of the garrison and besiegers, were assailed by the cannon and musketry of the enemy, whose fire they returned with equal spirit. The foremost of the victuallers, sailing on the tide with a steady gale, struck forcibly against the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence ran aground. On this the enemy exulting with acclamations, proposed to board her, while the garrison on the crowded walls, the anxious spectators of the event, became stupified with despair. By the recoiling of the cannon, however, with the aid of the flowing tide, the vessel soon got off, and passing the boom was followed by the others, and effected the relief of the town. On the next day the enemy raised the siege, which had continued for nearly four months, and a free communication

being afforded, every protestant had an ardent desire to see that brave garrison, whose ghastly visages exhibited their sufferings, and whose numbers were diminished from above seven thousand to nearly four thousand men. The enemy's loss was greater, amounting to eight thousand, and the remnant retired with disgrace to Strabane, being galled in their retreat by the famished garrison, who hardly took time to take a little food.

During the whole course of the siege of Derry James's army had been considerably embarrassed in their operations by the protestants of Enniskillen, who, having chosen Gustavus Hamilton governor of their town, proclaimed William and Mary as the sovereigns of Ireland. Lord Galway, having marched to reduce them, invested Crom Castle, their frontier garrison, seated on Lough-Erne, but finding it impossible to bring up his artillery he fashioned out of tin the resemblance of two pieces of cannon, which he drew formally along with eight horses, and with these he threatened to batter the castle. But the garrison, despising his threats, and reinforced from Enniskillen, drove his party from their trenches, and returning in triumph with considerable booty, exhibited the counterfeit cannon as trophies of their victory. Such successes as these raised the spirits of the northern protestants, whose force was increased, but they had neither arms nor ammunition until they were supplied by Kirk after his arrival at Lough-Swilly.

Being now considered very formidable, James prepared three armies to proceed against them at once from different quarters: one under Sarsfield, another under Fitzjames, duke of Berwick, and a third under Macarthy, all leaders of high repute. By this great superiority of force they could have been easily crushed, but their ignorance of the danger proved the means of their deliverance. As they were acquainted only with the movement of Sarsfield's army, which came from Connaught, they marched rapidly against them, and attacking them by surprise in their camp, routed them with great slaughter. In their attempt against the duke of Berwick they were not attended with such success. As he approached Enniskillen some companies sent to seize an advantageous post in his way, having rashly

CHAP. proceeded beyond the bounds prescribed, were surprised
XVI. and cut to pieces. But Hamilton, the governor of the town,

advancing to meet him, he retired.

**Battle of
Newton-
Butler.**

The army under Macarthy now came forward, and invested Crom-Castle, to the relief of which an officer was dispatched; but as the enemy marched against him with a very superior force, he found it necessary to retreat. Being pursued, a skirmish ensued, which was the prelude to a general action that took place near Newton-Butler, between both armies, the one commanded by Macarthy, the other by Wolsley, one of Kirk's officers. Though the north-erns were inferior in numbers, they made amends for this defect by their valour and determined abhorrence of the enemy, which excited them to the most strenuous exertions. Macarthy's army was defeated with great slaughter: two thousand were slain in the field, and six hundred were forced to plunge into Lough-Erne, where they perished. Macarthy and many other officers were taken prisoners; but quarter was refused to the common soldiers. The news of this victory was communicated to James's army, as they retired from Derry, and no doubt tended to hasten their flight.

CHAPTER XVII.

James assembles a parliament—Its acts—His arbitrary measures—Attack on the university—Persecution of protestants continued—Levies raised for Ireland—Schomberg takes Carrickfergus—Encamps at Dundalk—Distress of his army—Discontents in England—William lands—His march—His danger—Battle of the Boyne—James's flight—William proceeds to Dublin—Renews his operations—Foiled at Limerick, leaves Ireland—Expedition of Marlborough—French recalled—Disorders in the country—Disappointment of the Irish—Ginckle's operations—Attack on Athlone—Success—Retreat of Saint-Ruth—His position—Battle of Aghrim—Ginckle advances—Invests Limerick on all sides—Capitulation—Articles.

WHILE James's troops were employed with so little success in the north, he himself returned to Dublin, and assembled his parliament in all the pomp of sovereignty. In the upper house only seven or eight protestant lords attended, but the popish lords were numerous, as several were present who had been lately created, and others, whose outlawries had been reversed. In the lower house there were only six protestant members, the rest being entirely composed of Tyrconnel's creatures. In his speech the king made specious professions, declaring his grateful sense of the loyalty of his Irish subjects, and the regard he had for the rights of property and conscience. A bill was now introduced, acknowledging the king's title, and expressing an abhorrence of the prince of Orange, and his usurpation. James then published a declaration of a similar tendency with his speech, setting forth his resolution to protect the properties, privileges and religion of his protestant subjects; but whatever might be his inclinations, he had not liberty to act according to his wish, being subject to the controul of opposite factions. The French ambassador affected to take the lead

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James assembles a parliament.

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in his councils, and James was servilely submissive. All military promotions were conferred on Frenchmen, which afforded just cause of complaint to his Irish adherents. In parliament, however, the latter took care to provide for their own interests, without any regard to the difficulties with which their unfortunate monarch was embarrassed.

Its acts.

They tumultuously passed a bill for repealing the acts of settlement, to which the king gave his consent, being urged by those by whose advice he was governed, and thus was rendered still more odious to the people of England. An address was presented to him against this bill by the persons who had purchased under the authority of those acts, but he gave them no satisfactory reply, and when some peers proposed to enter their protest, he observed, that protests were usual only in rebellious times. In the preamble of the bill the Irish were exculpated from the crime of rebellion in the year 1641, and by a clause of it the estates of all persons dwelling in the British islands were forfeited, and vested in the king, who did not acknowledge James as sovereign, or who had aided, or corresponded with his enemies from the first of August 1688. In consequence of this act almost every protestant of Ireland, who could write, and of course correspond with his friends, was to be deprived of his estate.

Another act was passed equal in iniquity to the prescriptions in the corrupted age of Rome, by which all absentees attached to the prince of Orange were attainted of high treason, and condemned to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they surrendered within a certain period assigned. By this act nearly two thousand five hundred persons of different ages, sexes and conditions, were made liable to punishment, many of them, as owned, "on common fame," and by the terms of it even the king himself could not pardon them after the first of November. Besides, this proclamation was not published, at least in the usual manner, until after that time, which makes the iniquity still more excessive.

Among the other acts passed in this assembly was one declaring, that the parliament of England could not bind Ireland, and prohibiting the transmission of all writs of

error and appeal to the English courts; one for liberty of conscience, a specious title; another allowing the Romish clergy all tithes and ecclesiastical dues payable by those of their own communion. In a few instances James shewed a regard for the opinion of the people of England, for he opposed a bill for the repeal of Poyning's law, and refused his consent to the establishment of inns of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers, which the Irish catholics had long anxiously desired.

This parliament granted James a monthly subsidy of twelve thousand pounds, to be levied from lands, but he thought fit, by virtue of his prerogative, to issue a proclamation imposing a tax to the same amount on chattels; and when some of his council ventured to remonstrate against this arbitrary measure, he said, "if I cannot do this, I can do nothing."

He had recourse to another method of gaining supplies, which was even more abominable and iniquitous. One Moore having, by virtue of a patent of the late king, a right of copper coinage in Ireland, James seized his implements, and established a mint himself in Dublin and Lime-rick. To these places were carried brass and copper of the basest quality, old cannon, broken bells, and the like, and from every pound weight of such materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated, to which was affixed the nominal value of five pounds. James now issued a proclamation making those pieces current in all payments between him and his subjects, except in the duties on the exportation of foreign goods, money lent on trust, or due by mortgages, bills or bonds, promising, at the same time, that when the money should be decried, he would receive it in all payments between him and his subjects, or make full compensation in gold or silver. But people had reason to doubt his adherence to his promise; for the original restrictions were removed; the nominal value of the base coin was raised by subsequent proclamations, and orders were issued that it should be received in all kinds of payments. His soldiers were now paid in it, who forced it on the protestants with great rigour. As brass and copper became scarce, it was found necessary to make use of tin and

CHAP. pewter, and by these means James was enabled to fleece his
XVII. subjects. His acts of injustice were indeed most flagrant, for old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged by pieces of base metal, in reality not worth more than thirty shillings.

As the protestants were obnoxious to the present government, the circulation of this base coin was peculiarly distressing to them. When they attempted to get rid of it by purchasing the staple commodity of the kingdom, the king fixed a value on these commodities, and demanding them at this value, paid the owners in the base coin, and then, like another trader, exported the goods to France for profit. But should the protestants attempt to purchase corn or other provisions with this base coin, they were treated even more severely; for the articles they purchased were seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned, as men engaged in a scheme of supplying the enemy with food. Thus were the most inoffensive actions of the protestants ascribed to bad motives.

Attack on
the uni-
versity.

In the midst of the dangers with which James was threatened, and the opposition he experienced, he was still resigned to the direction of the catholic clergy, and adopted all their measures for the extension of popery. Thus he had the protestant school of Kilkenny, of which the duke of Ormond was the founder, converted, by a new charter, into a popish seminary. He also sent a mandamus to the university of Dublin, requiring that Green, who had formerly been disappointed of a professorship, should be elected a senior fellow. With this demand the society refused to comply, pleading their cause before Nagle, the attorney-general, and urging, beside the religious scruples they entertained, both the incapacity of Green, and the false allegation of his petition. But argument had little effect over prejudice; the issue of this unequal contest was speedy and decisive. In a few days the fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected by James's soldiers, the private property of individuals, the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community, were all seized, their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into prisons. By the intercession of the bishop of Meath, the members of

the university were allowed their personal liberty, on condition that three should not meet together on pain of death. On his arrival in Dublin, soon after his landing, the king promised this university, in answer to an address, the support and even enlargement of its privileges, which promise he thus basely violated. At the same time he promised to the protestant clergy of the established church protection and redress, but also violated his engagement to them.

The unhappy persons of that description experienced now the effect of his prejudice. Being only entitled by a late act to claim tithe from the few people of their own persuasion, they could not on that account get even a subsistence; while the Romish clergy had an ample support, both as their hearers were more numerous, and as they, presuming on their interest with government, exacted tithe from persons of every persuasion. Besides, by the authority of the magistrates, they seized several churches for their own use, both in the country and the capital. Of this outrage the protestants complained to James, who published a proclamation, requiring them to be restored, as he had promised to protect the protestants; but the priests, being sensible of their influence over him, paid no attention to his demands. With such restraints as these, however, the ruling party were not content; for a proclamation was issued, prohibiting protestants to attend any churches except those situated in their respective parishes. By this order numbers were entirely deprived of the benefit of public worship, since, in many parts, there was only one church for two or three parishes. The protestants, as is usual in times of oppression, crowded, with fervent zeal, to their places of devotion; for religion, in such times, is the only consolation to the afflicted; but of this consolation their enemies endeavoured to deprive them. At last they proceeded to an entire prohibition, for an order was issued by the governor of Dublin, that no more than five protestants should meet together, even in churches, on pain of death. Not only of spiritual comfort, but even of temporal subsistence, they attempted to deprive the unhappy protestants at that time, for soldiers were placed at every bake-house

Persecu-
tion of the
protestants
continued.

C H A P. of the capital, preventing any of their persuasion to approach.*

Levies
raised for
Ireland.

The continuance of an administration so tyrannical was chiefly owing to the factions and discontents in England, so vexatious to William, to the deficiency of money, and also of arms, which were to be brought from Holland, those in the Tower having been embezzled. In the mean while, the neglect of Ireland became a subject of popular complaint, and at length it was determined to send a body of forces to that country. As it was judged inexpedient to trust the fidelity of the troops who had served under James, it was resolved that new levies should be raised, and these were soon completed, but among them there were mixed some battalions of foreigners. The levies raised for the service of this kingdom consisted of eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horse; but both officers and men were inexperienced in war. The chief command was assigned to the duke of Schomberg, a leader of distinguished reputation, who, after long detention, set sail from Chester, on the twelfth of August, with about ten thousand of his forces, and part of the artillery. On the next day he arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus, and landed near Bangor in the county of Down.

Schomberg
takes Carrickfergus.

Immediately on his appearance, the neighbouring places, possessed by Irish garrisons, were abandoned, and the several troops retired to Carrickfergus. Schomberg now marched to attack this town, which was a strong post, but the garrison, instead of endeavouring to defend themselves, began to parley. They demanded liberty to send to king James for succours, or for his permission to surrender; but their offer was rejected, and the siege carried on in form, while the town was battered by the armed vessels from the sea. However, after the hostilities of some days, and a disagreement about the terms, Schomberg, being anxious to prevent delay, at a season so advanced, at last allowed them to march out with their arms and some baggage, and to be conveyed to the next Irish garrison. This indulgence afforded cause of complaint to his soldiers, who seem-

* These, and other acts of oppression of James and his ministers, are given on the authority of Archbishop King, who was then dean of Saint Patrick's.

ed inclined to prevent the fulfilment of the terms. The Ulster Scots, in particular, enraged at the cruelties committed by the catholic troops, proceeded to acts of violence against the garrison, but were restrained from murder by the seasonable interposition of the general.

Schomberg, being joined at this place by some more of the troops from England, by the forces which Kirk had brought over to Ireland, and by the brave protestants of Enniskillen, was enabled to advance. The artillery horses being still detained at Chester, he ordered the train and other necessities to be conveyed by the fleet to Carlingford, while his army proceeded through a desolated country, which was at first abandoned by the protestant, and now by the catholic inhabitants, who fled with their cattle and effects. The enemy, retiring before him, burned the town of Newry in their retreat, and set fire to Carlingford, which caused him to send forward a trumpet, threatening to give no quarter if such barbarities were continued. Hence they abandoned Dundalk without doing any injury to that town; towards which he approached, and encamped, at a mile distance from it, in a tolerably strong but damp situation. His advance caused such terror to the catholic army posted at Drogheda, consisting of nine thousand men, that they resolved to quit their present situation, but were diverted from their inglorious resolution by the exertions of Tyrconnel, who repaired to them, and assured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thousand men.

This reinforcement having soon after arrived, Schomberg thought it prudent to stop in his present situation, as the country before him was plain and open, where he might be surrounded by the superior number of James's army, and cut off from all communication with his ships and northern friends. In this resolution he was confirmed by the ships not having arrived at Carlingford with the artillery and provisions expected, and by his army, which consisted of raw recruits, not inured to fatigue, being worn out with tedious marches in a rigorous season. Several of them sunk under the severities they endured, and many lay languishing on the roads.

Marshal Rosen, on being informed that Schomberg had

CHAP. halted, drew his forces towards Dundalk, and the latter for-
 XVII. tified his camp against an attack. But his position being
 Distress of confined and unwholsome, and his soldiers, without suffi-
 his army. cient food, fuel, or covering, exposed to damps and wintry
 showers, began very soon to be seized with sickness, which
 continued to increase, as the surgeons were unable to coun-
 teract it, being only supplied with medicines fit for wounds.
 The sickness was also aggravated by a pestilential disease,
 communicated from the garrison of Derry, which broke
 out in the camp. While they were thus afflicted, the enemy,
 who were encamped on the adjoining hills, and had the
 benefit of the open country, were in a great degree exempt
 from such distress, of which they seemed inclined to take
 the advantage, and made some movements, as it were, to
 storm Schomberg's camp on different sides. James himself
 now joined them, and drawing out his army in battle array,
 with the royal standard displayed, made a show of such an
 intention. Schomberg then made suitable preparations for
 his defence; but James, after this empty parade, drew off
 his forces to Ardee. At this time a conspiracy was disco-
 vered for betraying Schomberg's camp, formed by some
 French papists, for which the principals were executed,
 and the rest were disarmed and sent off to Holland. The
 situation of this general was now become very critical, for
 the distresses of his army had risen to a great height. The
 fleet, indeed, which had arrived at the place appointed,
 furnished some provisions, but this supply was not suffi-
 cient to remove the settled contagion, which carried off
 numbers of officers and men every day. The army accused
 the general of indifference to their calamities, and the ene-
 my insulted over their miseries, imputing them to the ven-
 geance of Heaven inflicted on them for their heresy. In
 the end, however, they were exposed to similar calamities
 themselves, and their numbers were greatly diminished by
 disease.

When the season of the year approached, each army pre-
 pared to retire into winter quarters. The English camp
 now exhibited a sad picture of human misery. The sick,
 when they were to be removed, set up loud cries and lamen-
 tations, from the apprehension of the still greater sufferings

they were going to endure; and, alas! they had too much reason for their apprehensions. Waggons being provided to convey them to Belfast, some died at the first attempt to remove them, and others were soon killed by the jolting of the waggons, whose bodies were strewn along the road. Many, in the extremity of their torments, adjured those around them to put them to death. The general, though eighty years of age, was indefatigable in his exertions to alleviate their miseries. Eight thousand of his men lost their lives by disease from the time they first entered the camp.

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The ill success of this expedition caused loud complaints among the people of England, who had high expectations from the talents of Schomberg, and a contempt for the enemies opposed to him. It afforded triumph for the factious part of the nation, and especially of the commons, where the opposite parties concurred in their endeavours to embarrass the administration. In the midst of their inquiries the commons were informed by George Walker (who, for his services at Derry, had received in London high compliments and rewards) that the disappointment arose from the neglect of one Shales, a purveyor of the army, in not providing Schomberg with artillery horses, carriages, bread, forage, and medicines, for which he was ordered into custody.

Discon-
tents in
England.

The opposition to William in the commons was not confined to the disaffected, to those who attempted to prevent his obtaining the sovereignty, but even the very men who placed him on the throne, counteracted his endeavours to promote the public good. Though possessed of rigid integrity and an ardent zeal for the liberties of mankind, he was constitutionally cold and distant in his manners, which prevented his being so popular in England as might be expected by one, who, at a critical conjuncture, stood forward to defend the violated rights of the people. The commons made a great clamour about Shales, and remonstrated with violence against miscarriages in the army, the fleet, and in Ireland, requiring that public affairs should be entrusted to persons, in whom the nation would have greater confidence than in those who had the management of them at present. The king used every exertion to soothe them, but

CHAPTER. with little effect. At length he declared his resolution of
 XVII. undertaking the war of Ireland in person.

1690.

The first report of his design gave encouragement to the English army in Ulster. Schomberg having retired to winter quarters, with about half the number of men he had brought into Ireland, exerted himself with great industry to retrieve his misfortune. He used every means in his power of restoring to health the diseased soldiers, and his endeavours were happily attended with success. He sent to England for recruits to fill up the place of those who had perished, and by the co-operation of government received a considerable reinforcement of Danes, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg. In the mean while his troops obtained various successes over the enemy. The Enniskilleners, in particular, continued to distinguish themselves. During the time of his encampment in Dundalk, he had allowed them to make irregular excursions, and in one of these a thousand of them routed the enemy, on their march to Sligo, with a great superiority of forces. The same number, at this time, defeated four thousand, under the duke of Berwick, at Cavan. These hardy soldiers, who escaped the ravages of disease, the general engaged in bold enterprises, and employed his other troops, when they recovered, in furnishing the frontier towns with stores. James himself also displayed a suitable energy on this occasion, and was equally assiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the ensuing campaign. The formidable appearance of the enemy, with the apprehension of their receiving still more assistance from England, obliged him to apply to France for a reinforcement. Accordingly Lewis sent him five thousand soldiers, under the command of Count Lauzun, to whom he gave in exchange an equal number of his own subjects, on whose exertions alone he found he could not rely for the recovery of his kingdom.

On the return of spring, as soon as his forces were fit for action, Schomberg, without delay, commenced his operations. The fort of Charlemont he had before considered so strong and so well provided that he did not venture to attack it. However, he now resolved to make a trial, and accordingly detached Caillemote, a spirited French officer, against it, with a body of troops. The governor was sir Taig O'Re-

gan, a brave Irish officer, who defended himself a considerable time with success; but being closely invested, and deprived of all supplies, he was at length, for want of provisions, obliged to surrender.

In the mean time, several new regiments of English, Dutch, and others, arrived in the northern province, and assurance was given the army, that William himself would soon follow. Accordingly, he landed at Carrickfergus, on the fourteenth of June, and was received with transports of joy by the friends of liberty and the protestant religion. He was accompanied by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and several other persons of distinction.

Being determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war, he advanced to Lisburn and Hillsborough, where he commenced the first exercise of his civil authority, by conferring a pension of twelve hundred pounds a-year on the dissenting ministers of Ulster, who had displayed great zeal in his cause. His forces from several quarters met him at Loughbrickland, where he reviewed them with minute attention, and advanced with an army of thirty-six thousand well appointed men, with an intent to decide the fate of Ireland. To supply their necessities was more the object of his care than to provide luxuries for himself. When an order for wine for his own table was produced to him to be signed, he exclaimed that his men should be first served, "let them not want" said he, "I shall drink water." On the march he was sometimes in the van, sometimes in the rear, viewing the country as he proceeded, to perceive where they might be best accommodated, and in every respect was peculiarly attentive to their condition.

As he advanced towards Dundalk James's army retreated beyond the river Boyne, and encamped on its bank near Drogheda. Here they were joined by the king himself, who had now under his command about thirty-three thousand men. His troops were inferior to the English in numbers and discipline, though not in courage, as appeared on trial. Some of his officers, in hopes of a more favourable turn of affairs in England, thinking it would be for his advantage to protract the war, advised him to strengthen his garrisons, and retire with a few chosen bands behind the

CHAP. XVII. Shannon, where he might carry on a defensive warfare, which would gradually waste the enemy, but he would not consent, and determined to risk a general engagement on the spot.

Such a decisive measure was exactly suitable to the interest and wishes of William, who, on the last day of June, moved with his army towards the Boyne. On the opposite bank the Irish army was encamped, of which William took a view from an adjacent hill. On their right lay Drogheda, which they had occupied with a garrison, on their left a difficult morass, which communicated by a narrow pass with the bridge of Slain, situated three miles higher up the river; on their front was the Boyne, with rugged banks, defended by some pieces of artillery, and furnished with huts and hedges where infantry might lie in security; on their rear lay the village of Donore, and three miles farther off the narrow pass of Duleek.

His danger.

William, being anxious to get a nearer view of their position, advanced within musket shot of a ford opposite to a village called Old-bridge, where he was discovered by the enemy, who brought down unnoticed two field-pieces, and fired at him. By the first discharge a man and two horses were killed beside him, and by the second the king himself was slightly wounded, the ball grazing his right shoulder. This William treated as a trifle, but it occasioned great anxiety to his attendants, who gathered round him in confusion, and the report of his death flew rapidly to Dublin, and even to Paris, where it was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations. The king rode through the ranks by torch light, in order to afford the most perfect assurance of his safety.

About nine at night he called a council of war, to whom he communicated his intention of passing the river next morning in front of the enemy, from which Schomberg, with a caution natural to his years, endeavoured to dissuade him; but when he could not prevail, he insisted that a part of the army should be immediately detached to secure the bridge of Slain, so as to flank the enemy, and cut off their retreat by the pass of Duleek. This measure, however, was not taken. Offended at the indifference with which his

council was received, Schomberg retired in disgust, and when he got the order of battle in his tent, he observed that CHAP.
XVII. it was the first that was ever sent him.

As the final orders were, that the English army should cross the Boyne next day in three different places to attack the enemy, early in the morning of that day, being the first of July, the right wing, with count Schomberg, the duke's son, commanding the cavalry, and general Douglas the infantry, proceeded rapidly up the river, which they crossed at a ford above Slain-bridge, before the large detachments sent to oppose them could reach the place. A regiment of dragoons stationed there they soon repelled, and proceeded down the river through very difficult ground, especially for horse, with such boldness as astonished the enemy opposed to them, who instantly gave way.

When it was supposed that the right wing had made good its passage, the infantry in the centre, under the command of duke Schomberg, was put in motion. The Dutch guards first entered the river on the right, opposite to the village of Old-bridge, and then the French protestants,* Brandenburghers and English, at their several passes to the left, plunged in with alacrity, while the water in some places rose to their breasts, which obliged the infantry to support their arms over their heads. The Dutch, having gained the opposite bank, formed gradually, and drove the Irish from their posts. Advancing forward they were attacked by a larger body, whom they repulsed, but the enemy still increasing, some English and French Huguenots, who had by this time passed the river, came up to their support, having repelled the Irish infantry, led on by general Hamilton, who attempted to oppose their passage. His cavalry, however, were more spirited and successful, for

* The author's grandfather was one of these, and was wounded at this battle; he was also at the battle of Aghrim.

“ With deep regret he left fair Gallia's land,
Forc'd from her plains by Lewis' stern command,
Join'd great prince William on Batavia's shore,
At Boyne's fam'd waters heard the cannon roar.
Bled to support true freedom's equal laws,
And pure religion's venerable cause.”

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XVII. having attacked a body of Danes on the bank, they drove them back into the river, and, on their return, fell furiously on the Huguenots, who had no pikes to sustain their shock, the bayonet being not in use, and were instantly broken. At this time duke Schomberg rushed through the river, and putting himself at the head of the Huguenots, who were deprived of their brave leader Caillemote, reduced them to order. The Irish cavalry who had broken them, were afterwards in a great part destroyed by the Dutch and English, and the remainder, in their return to join their main body, being allowed to pass by the Huguenots through mistake, wounded Schomberg in the head, and were carrying him off along with them, when he was killed, in the confusion, by a shot from his own men. At the same time also was killed Walker of Londonderry, the valiant ecclesiastic, whose passion for military glory had impelled him to this engagement.

The centre being thus engaged for about an hour, the firing ceased on both sides for a short time, and at length the Irish, who had rather retreated, advanced in regular order to make a bold attack on their opponents. At this time William, who commanded the left wing, composed of the Dutch, Danish, and English cavalry, having passed the river with some difficulty, came rapidly forward to the engagement. The Irish perceiving him coming boldly on, with his sword drawn, at the head of the squadron, and being apprehensive that he intended to charge them in flank, retired to Donore, where James had taken his stand. But facing about with great spirit, they attacked the English cavalry with such fury, that they were forced to give way with the king at their head. The battle was, however, maintained on both sides with equal ardour, and with a variety of success. In every part of it where danger was most imminent, king William was constantly present, and thus gave double vigour to his soldiers. The presence and exertions of such a prince had at length its due effect. The Irish infantry were finally repulsed; and Hamilton, making a desperate effort to recover the day at the head of the cavalry, was routed and brought prisoner to William, who gently rebuked him for his former treachery.

The army of James now ceased to make resistance, and were severely galled in their retreat by William's right wing, who pursued them almost to the pass of Duleek. At this time count Lauzun rode up to James, who still continued at Donore, and advised him to retreat immediately as he was in danger of being surrounded. He then marched to Duleek at the head of Sarsfield's regiment, and was followed by his army, that poured through the pass, annoyed by a party of English dragoons. When they reached the open ground, they drew up, and firing on their pursuers made a regular retreat. Their loss in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred, that of William's army scarcely amounted to one-third of this number.

By this battle the contest for the crown was finally decided. James, having arrived in Dublin in great disorder, assembled the popish magistrates and council without delay. He now made complaints of the treatment he had received. In England, he said, his army had deserted him, and in Ireland they had meanly fled from the enemy. Therefore, he told them, that nothing now remained but that both he and they should shift for themselves. Though obliged to yield to superior power, he assured them, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance; but, as too much blood had been already shed, and Providence seemed to have declared against him, he advised them to liberate their prisoners, and submit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. His ungracious reflections on the courage of the Irish troops provoked the officers to make a comparison between his conduct and that of king William, very much to his disadvantage. While William, said they, shared the danger of his army, he stood at a secure distance, an idle spectator of a contest, in which the Irish troops, though not animated by his presence, maintained his cause with such valour as he could not impeach. "Exchange kings," exclaimed the officers, "and we will fight the battle over again." Their indignation was also increased at the shameful manner he deserted them; for he fled to Waterford in all speed, breaking down the bridges to prevent pursuit, and embarked for France.

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James's
flight.

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William
proceeds
to Dublin.

Drogheda having surrendered to William, he proceeded slowly towards Dublin, and encamped at Finglass, within two miles of that city. The peace of the capital had been preserved with difficulty by a protestant officer named Fitzgerald, to whom some troops were sent by William for that purpose. His majesty, having entered the city, repaired to the cathedral of Saint Patrick to offer up his thanks to God for his victory, and immediately returned to his camp. He now published a proclamation, offering pardon to all his opponents of the lower order, on their surrendering their arms, but excluding from the benefit of it those of a higher station. The exception was dictated by his interested advisers, who were eager to get forfeitures, and hence commissioners were appointed for securing lands of this description, who executed their authority without either shame or equity. Of course the gentry, who adhered to James, had no resource left them but obstinately continuing the war, and the common people, by the constant violation of the protections they had received, were obliged to take up arms again for their own security, and range themselves under their old leaders.

Renews his
operations.

Resuming his operations, William thought fit to divide his forces. He detached general Douglas to Athlone, towards which the Irish army had retired, and advanced himself southward along the coast, that he might preserve a communication with his fleet. Wexford now declared for him, and Waterford and the fort of Duncannon surrendered. Of Clonmel, which was abandoned by the Irish, he took possession with his troops. At this time he was so much alarmed with reports of a conspiracy in England, and with the intelligence of the English fleet being defeated off Beachy-Head, that he made preparations to go off without delay, but having afterwards received more favourable accounts, he resolved to continue his operations somewhat longer in Ireland.

Douglas, proceeding in the mean time in his expedition to Athlone, marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundered and even murdered with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, and the open orders of their general. As he advanced, considerable bodies of the

Irish peasantry came successively forward, claiming the benefit of king William's declaration; but they were constantly deceived, for after getting promises of protection, they were exposed to the *mercy* of the military. With an army so much detested, Douglas having arrived at Athlone, sent a summons for a surrender, but the governor, Grace, a brave old officer, in a rage at their violences, fired a pistol at the messenger, saying, "these are my terms."—Grace, considering it indefensible, burned that part of Athlone called English-town, situated on the eastern bank of the Shannon, and broke down an arch of the stone bridge built across the river. Having raised works and mounted two batteries, he annoyed Douglas with these, and with the cannon of the castle, while his guns had but little effect on the enemy. Foiled in his endeavours, Douglas decamped at midnight, and, in dread of being pursued, proceeded by secret marches to join the royal army. The protestant inhabitants near the town, who had declared for him on his approach, having, through necessity, left their houses and harvests, accompanied him in his retreat, and the scanty pittance of provisions they brought along with them was devoured by his soldiers.

Having effected his escape, he found the king advancing towards Limerick, the principal seat of the Irish force. This city consisted, like Athlone, of the English and Irish towns, the former of which was placed in an island surrounded by the Shannon, and was connected with the other by a bridge. Its fortifications, which were strong before, had been lately improved by additional outworks, constructed under the direction of French engineers. The garrison consisted of fourteen regiments of foot, exclusive of horse and dragoons; at a small distance lay the remainder of the Irish army, now recovered from their consternation, with the French auxiliaries, amounting to many thousands.

William, whose forces were reduced to twenty thousand, being deceived by wrong intelligence, and depending on a continuance of his success, advanced with sanguine expectations to the city on the 9th of August. A summons being sent to the governor, M. Boileau, that officer replied, "that he thought the best way to gain the prince of Orange's good

Foiled at
Limerick,
leaves Ire-

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opinion, was by a vigorous defence of the fortress committed to his care." The siege now commenced, but William could not make a suitable impression on the enemy's works for want of his heavy artillery, which was then on the road from Dublin. Of this Sarsfield, the Irish general, being informed, crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, twelve miles from Limerick, and, proceeding by secret paths, intercepted the train, cut the detachment to pieces, and destroyed the artillery, carriages, waggons, and ammunition. This disaster produced great consternation in the English camp, but William bore it with due composure, and other cannon being obtained with some difficulty, the operations, which had been suspended, were renewed. A breach at length being made of twelve yards in breadth, the king ordered a general assault. On this five hundred grenadiers leaped over the trenches, drove the enemy from the counterscarp, in the midst of a terrible fire, passed through the breach, and many of them even into the town; but the enemy, who had been taken by surprise, returned to the attack with great valour, the very women rushing forward and encouraging them, repulsed the assailants, many of whom were killed and wounded, defended the breach against all who came to their aid, and maintained the conflict for three hours, until William, after the loss of twelve hundred men, ordered a retreat. Discouraged by this attempt, and impeded in his operations by the weather, he raised the siege in two days. His army having retreated to Clonmel, he appointed lords-justices, and embarked at Duncannon fort for England, on the 5th of September, leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and general Ginckle.

Expedi-
tion of
Marlbo-
rough.

Soon after his arrival in England, an expedition, to which he had previously given his consent, set out from that country for the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, which afforded the Irish so convenient a communication with France. The command of this expedition was entrusted to John Churchill, earl of Marlborough, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, who set out from Portsmouth with a body of five thousand men, and landed near Cork, with little opposition, on the twenty-first of September. Soon after he was joined by nine hundred cavalry and four thousand infantry under the prince of Wirtemberg, detached from the

English army in Ireland. Marlborough, having already made some successful approaches towards the city, which is seated on marshy islands in the river Lee, found himself somewhat impeded by the pretensions of the prince of Wirtemberg, who insisted, on account of his superior rank, to have the chief command, which he refused to grant, as he was only a leader of auxiliaries. It was at length settled that they should have it alternately, but a breach being made, and the governor having parleyed, they began again to disagree. Marlborough insisted that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war, Wirtemberg that the terms should be more favourable. While they were thus disputing, the marsh, through which the assailants were to advance to the breach, was covered with the tide, and the governor, seeing the danger elapsed for the present, broke off the conference. The generals, being provoked at this collusion, saw the folly of their disputes, and the fire being renewed, the breach was enlarged, on which the Dutch and English bravely passed over the river, wading up to the shoulders, exposed to the enemy's fire, and were on the point of taking the place by storm when the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. On this last bold attack the duke of Grafton lost his life, who had volunteered on the occasion, the most respected of the sons of Charles the second.

A summons was immediately sent to Kinsale, which gave such offence to the governor that he threatened to kill the messenger. Considering the town untenable, he set it on fire, and divided the garrison between two forts the old and new. The first was taken by storm after an obstinate resistance, in which the governor and half the garrison were slain. The second was much stronger and of course gave a suitable confidence to the governor, who replied to the summons sent him, "that it would be time enough to talk of that business a month hence." The fort, of course, was immediately assailed, and the attack continued for ten days, at the end of which preparations were made for a general assault, when the garrison thought fit to capitulate. Delays being considered dangerous at that critical time, they were allowed terms more favourable than were granted to Cork. They marched out with arms and baggage, and

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were conducted to Limerick. Having effected the object of his enterprise in twenty-three days, the earl of Marlborough returned to England, and received a suitable acknowledgment of his merits from the king. The people also rejoiced at the splendid success of their native general, which was afterwards succeeded by such glorious exploits.

French re-
called.

At this time the native Irish were deprived of very material aid, for, soon after the retreat of William from Limerick, Lewis recalled the greater number of his troops. During their continuance here perpetual animosities prevailed between them and the Irish, who were now left under the command of the brave and popular Sarsfield, their native chief. The command of the English army in this country, by the departure of count Solmes, was of course committed to the able hands of general Ginckle.

Disorders
in the coun-
try.

Having removed his troops to winter quarters, they were not allowed even then to continue in quiet, for the hardy Irish, braving the asperity of the season, surprised and slaughtered them in small parties wherever they could find them. A banditti of these called *Rapparees*, who were very numerous, were guilty of shocking excesses; they burned villages, butchered the inhabitants, and particularly the English soldiers, when they could get them in their power. Their routes were scarce otherwise to be traced than by the fires they lighted up in the country, and the cries of the miserable inhabitants they destroyed. During all seasons of the year were their violences committed, and the English troops were harassed in fruitless attempts to suppress them. The protestant inhabitants were, however, the principal sufferers; for they were not only plundered by the catholic enemy, but also by the foreign soldiers in William's service, who, in their predatory excursions, made little difference between them and the native Irish. In this charge, however, the Dutch troops are not included, as they were quiet and inoffensive.

General Ginckle used every endeavour to restrain the ravages of the military, but with little effect, as did also king William himself, during his residence here, and in his attempts of this kind made divers examples of great severity. Government also exerted themselves to check the va-

rious disorders of the country, and to abate the violent animosities that raged between opposite parties. For this salutary purpose the courts of law were furnished with judges; civil officers for the several counties were appointed, and a regular militia was established: the commission of forfeitures, which caused so much discontent, was superseded, and proclamations were issued forbidding quarrels, and all acts of licentious excess: but to these only the loyal part of the community paid attention. Ginckle indeed gave an advice, which, if followed, might have tended to reconcile the disaffected, for he recommended a proclamation to be issued offering pardon to repenting rebels, but that useful measure was prevented by the private interest of individuals.

This general, as soon as the season allowed him, march-1691. ed against a considerable body of the enemy, who had occupied a pass near Ballymore, situate between Mullingar and Athlone, with an intent to make an attack on the English garrison of Mullingar. The pass they fortified with palisadoes, but fortified it in such a manner as to turn the palisadoes towards themselves which tended to secure instead of repelling the assailants. Being driven from the ground, they fled, but rallied again at a place called the Moat of Grenoge, where they gave battle, but were defeated, and fled in consternation to Athlone, the gates of which, through terror, were shut against them. Many of them then took refuge in the bogs, and many perished in the river. In this defeat they lost three hundred men, five hundred horses, a quantity of arms and their baggage. Though this action seemed of little consequence, it had still a very beneficial effect, for it tended to frustrate the designs of the Irish against the English garrisons, to damp their ardour, and produce confusion in their councils.

At present, in another instance, their expectations were disappointed. Having sent Tyrconnel to France to solicit succours, he returned with only some clothing, and the sum of eight thousand pounds, which was quite inadequate for the payment of the arrears due to the soldiery, and though distributed among them as a donation, did not serve to allay their discontents. Tyrconnel himself was no longer a fa-

Disappoint-
ment of the
Irish.

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vourite either with king James or the Irish people. The former deprived him of the administration of civil affairs, and the latter began to suspect his zeal for their cause. Even before he went to France, he became an advocate for moderate measures, and now very prudently advised his associates to save the remains of the nation by submitting to the new government. Hence he was reviled as a traitor by those officers who declared for war through vain expectation of a rebellion in Britain, and copious supplies from France. French officers, indeed, arrived successively with assurance of such supplies, and at last Saint-Ruth came with a commission of commander-in-chief from king James, whom his majesty selected for that office, on account of his bigotted zeal in persecuting the French protestants. This preference was considered as an indignity by Sarsfield, who had the best claim to that honour, nor did the title of the earl of Lucan conferred on him console him for the disappointment. The French general having brought with him no great supplies, resolved on a defensive system; and having strengthened the posts on the western side of the Shannon, took his station with the main army behind Athlone.

Ginckle's
operations.

Ginckle having received reinforcements and very urgent orders from William, resolved to act on the offensive, though his army was still inferior in numbers to that of Saint-Ruth; but he relied on the superior spirit of the soldiers and experience of the officers, among whom were some of distinguished reputation. Being at length supplied with provisions and other necessaries, he determined to open the campaign with an attack on the fort of Ballymore, in the county of Westmeath, fortified with great care, in which the Irish had placed a garrison of a thousand men. This he took in one day, and thus a way was opened for him to Athlone.

Attack on
Athlone.

1691.

On the eighteenth day of June he advanced with a party of horse within a few miles of it, and from an eminence surveyed the town, and the situation of the Irish army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at a distance of two miles from the Shannon. On the twenty-first his army advanced towards the walls of the English town, which had been repaired since the former attack, as

also the bridge. In these a breach was made with a battery of ten guns, and the place stormed by his troops, who pursued the discomfited enemy along the bridge, where many of them in the confusion fell over the battlements, and were lost in the river, and many were crushed to death. At this time the arch of the bridge next the Irish town of Athlone was again broken, before the remainder could get over, who were of course exposed to destruction.

So far the assailants were successful, but they had still the chief difficulties to encounter. They could not, of course, get over the broken arch; and though there was a ford, it was deep, narrow, and stony. At another place towards Lanesborough, a bridge of pontoons might be placed, and Ginckle had a design of crossing there; but the enemy discovered his design, and guarded the pass. He now had no means of forcing his way but by the bridge, and here, while the batteries played incessantly to protect the workmen, he raised a wooden work for the purpose of throwing planks over the broken arch. The scheme was nearly completed, when a sergeant and ten men in armour rushed from the Irish town to destroy the work, but they were all slain. Another party made the same desperate attempt, and succeeded; they cast the beams and planks into the river, and two of them surviving. returned in triumph. Ginckle, however, was not to be diverted from his object; he renewed his efforts, and at length placed a close gallery over the broken arch. He now resolved to pass over here, and in two other places at the same time, and distributed money among his soldiers to animate them in so dangerous an attempt. The enemy made suitable preparations to oppose him, but at this time some of their grenades set fire to the gallery and consumed it. The attack, of course, was countermanded, and Saint-Ruth, in his excess of joy on the occasion, gave an entertainment to ladies and gentlemen in his camp.

Ginckle now called a council of war, to whom he discovered the various difficulties with which he was surrounded, and expressed an inclination to retreat. This resolution was opposed by the duke of Wirtemberg, and other general officers, who contended that no great ex-

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plot could be achieved without hazard, and declared, all of them, for passing the ford in the face of the enemy, except general Mackay, the conqueror of James's adherents in Scotland. Ginckle, well pleased with the opposition he had received, acceded to their opinion, being confirmed in his present resolution by the correspondent ardour he observed among his soldiers, whose resentment was excited by the taunting language of the Irish, exclaiming all night to them across the river, "that they had ill-earned the money distributed yesterday by their officers."

Success.

The ford through which they were to proceed was only wide enough for twenty men to march abreast, its bottom was rocky, the stream very rapid, and rising in the shallowest part nearly breast high. On the opposite bank was raised a bastion to defend the pass. The command of the passage, in the rotation of duty, devolved on Mackay, but on account of his difference of opinion, Ginckle committed it to Talmash, at which the other being offended, he was obliged to resign the post, and acted as a volunteer on the occasion. Six o'clock in the morning, the usual hour of relieving guard, was the time fixed on for the attempt, as a double guard might then appear without suspicion, and on ringing the church bell, the appointed signal, a detachment of grenadiers, supported by a large body of infantry, two thousand in all, entered the river by twenties, to the astonishment of the Irish, who opened all their forts and batteries to oppose them. Encouraged by the presence of distinguished leaders,* who partook of the danger, the detachment advanced gradually through the ford, in the face of a terrible fire, and having at length forced their way, and gained the opposite bank, the rest of the troops soon followed on pontoons, and planks thrown across the broken arch. The Irish fled in consternation, and in half an hour from the first movement, the English army were in possession of the town.

Retreat of
St.-Ruth

When Saint-Ruth was informed by Sarsfield that the enemy were passing the ford, he exclaimed, that they dare

* Mackay waded by the side of his men, and Wirtemberg, having his horse shot under him, was conveyed through the river on the shoulders of his grenadiers.

not make the attempt, while he and his army were so near, C H A P.
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 to which the other replied, that “ he would find English courage would attempt any thing,” and pressed for immediate aid. An altercation having thus commenced, in the mean while a messenger arrived with the news that the enemy were in possession of the town. Saint-Ruth then made some endeavours to dislodge them, but when he found his own cannon from the walls turned against him, he was obliged to retreat. The garrison of the castle now surrendered, consisting of five hundred men, and, during the siege, the Irish lost twelve hundred more.

Geinckle, on this success, being desirous of ending the war without any further bloodshed, at length issued his majesty’s proclamation of pardon, which had been so long detained by the interested motives of individuals ; but of which the lords-justices themselves now saw the propriety, for, in two days after, they issued a formal one of their own, offering a pardon to all officers and men who should submit to king William, with a suitable recompense for their horse, accoutrements, and the like. Beside pardon, a reward was also promised to governors who should surrender their forts, and officers who should bring over their men, with a free exercise of religion secured in such a manner as the parliament of Ireland should determine. Of this proclamation many, it is true, availed themselves, and sued for protection, but the liberality of these offers came too late to have a general effect. Saint-Ruth exerted himself to prevent his soldiers taking the advantage of it, and lest any should change their sentiments, resolved to act no longer on the defensive, but to bring the fortune of himself and his adherents to the issue of a decisive battle. To this also he was urged by a desire to retrieve the disgrace he had sustained at Athlone by his neglect. Accordingly, he collected forces from different garrisons, and his army being thus increased, concurred with the determination of their general.

Having taken great care in the choice of a position, he encamped with twenty-five thousand men on the heights of Kilcommeden, within a mile of the village of Aghrim, in the county of Galway. Along his front extended a bog His position.

CHAP. XVII. nearly a mile broad, with only two passes, one on each side, by which an enemy could approach; one on the right through a range of hills, opening into a wider ground; another on the left occupied by the old castle of Aghrim, and by entrenchments filled with soldiers. The space between these passes was intersected with hedges and ditches communicating with each other, and lined with musketeers.

Such was his excellent position, with twenty-five thousand men under his command, but he could not take the full advantage of his situation and numbers, for want of a sufficient quantity of cannon. Against him Ginckle advanced with only eighteen thousand men, which he had with difficulty collected by draining the garrisons of more troops than could be well spared. By these two armies was the fate of Ireland to be decided, and the minds of all men, with a diversity of hopes and expectations, were anxiously fixed on the event.

Saint-Ruth from his heights had a full view of the English army approaching, and made suitable dispositions to resist their attack. He exerted himself on the occasion as an able commander. Riding to every squadron and battalion, he urged them, by the most powerful motives, to a strenuous support of the just cause in which they were engaged. The harangue he made to his troops was such as might be supposed to have the most effect on persons of their rude minds and peculiar prejudices. “He told them how successful he had been in suppressing heresy in France, and of the numbers of deluded souls he had thus brought over into the bosom of the church; that for this reason his master had made choice of him, above all others, to establish the true catholic church of Ireland on such a foundation as would not leave it in the power of either hell or heretics to disturb. He reminded the Irish officers, that now was the time for them to fight for their honours, their liberties, and estates; and assured them all, of every station, that their strenuous exertions in the present contest would not only obtain for them the love and gratitude of James, their pious king, and the protection of Lewis the great, but a reward superior to any in the power of an earthly potentate to bestow, for the church would pray for them,

“ and saints and angels would carry their souls to heaven ; C H A P.
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 “ that the enemies of so good a cause were just objects of
 “ the divine resentment, and therefore he directed them to
 “ give quarter to none, but especially not to spare any
 “ of the French heretics in the prince of Orange’s army.”
 He then sent the priests among them to inspire them with
 the same sentiments, who made them swear on the sacrament
 not to desert their colours.

Ginckle, being resolved to attack them in their present Battle of
Aghrim.
July 12,
1691.
 advantageous position, which he had carefully inspected,
 was prepared for the contest on the twelfth day of July, but
 as there was a thick fog in the morning, he could not begin
 his march until noon, when he advanced with as much regu-
 larity as the nature of the ground would admit. His first
 object was to force the pass to the right of the enemy, in
 which he employed Danes, supported afterwards by English
 dragoons, and several other detachments, who met with a
 most determined opposition as they pressed forward, but
 after an obstinate contest of an hour, with a diversity of
 success, it was at last effected, and the English gained a
 position beyond the bog. On this the whole of their left
 wing, at five o’clock in the evening, by the advice of Mac-
 kay, advanced through the pass, and attacked the right of
 the Irish with great violence, who firmly sustained them,
 defending their ditches with obstinacy, supported by their
 cavalry, nor gave way till the muskets of the different com-
 batants closed with each other ; retiring then by their lines
 of communication, they flanked the assailants, and charged
 them with double fury. The engagement having thus con-
 tinued for an hour and a half, Saint-Ruth, as it was fore-
 seen by Mackay, at length found it necessary to draw a
 considerable part of his cavalry from his left to support his
 right wing. His left being thus weakened, it was resolved
 by Mackay to force a way by the pass at Aghrim castle,
 and while the English cavalry on the right were in motion
 to make the attempt, orders were given to several regiments
 in the centre to march through the bog, and post them-
 selves on the lowest ditches, until the horse should gain the
 pass, and wheel from the right to support them.

In obedience to these orders, the infantry entered the

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bog, plunging to the middle in mire and water, and having floundered on with difficulty, at last reached the other side, where they were assailed with a close fire from the ditches and hedges. Undismayed by this assault, they pressed forward, the enemy retiring before them through design, and forgetting, in the ardour of combat, the orders they had received, they pursued almost to the main body of the Irish. Thus separated from their companions, the enemy took the advantage of them, and pouring down on them, both horse and foot, assailed them at once in front and flank, drove them from the ground with great slaughter, even into the bog, taking many prisoners, some of whom were of high note. On this success Saint-Ruth, in the extacy of joy, exclaimed, "now I'll drive the English to the very walls of "Dublin."

Scarcely had he thus spoke, when he took notice of the great exertions made by his opponents to support their friends in disorder; the English cavalry, in particular, he observed, with Talmash at their head, rushing with surprising ardour close by the walls of the castle, in the midst of all the fire, and forcing their way through a narrow pass. Astonished at their intrepidity, he said to his officers, "What do the English mean?" "To force their way to "our left," they replied. "They are brave fellows," said he, "'tis a pity they were so much exposed."

Rouvigni, Talmash, and Mackay, now pressed forward from the right, though resisted with great bravery, and by their approach gave such spirit to the infantry in the centre, that they rallied, advanced, and regained their former ground. The two divisions of the English, both from right and left, having overcome every opposition, seemed gradually verging towards each other, and Saint-Ruth, seeing the danger of their junction, resolved to use every effort to prevent it. Accordingly he rode down the hill at the head of a body of horse to fall on the English cavalry, but at this critical time he was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops were then put in confusion, and as Sarsfield, on account of the altercation that prevailed between them, was unacquainted with the order of battle, he was of course unable to support the disposition he had made. The English, taking the advantage of this dis-

order, pressed forward, drove the enemy back to their camp, and thence put them to flight. Their victory was now complete, but it was sullied by their barbarity, for in this battle, and a bloody pursuit of three miles, seven thousand of the Irish were slain, and only four hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Of the English seven hundred were killed and a thousand wounded.

All night the victors lay on their arms amid heaps of their slaughtered foes, and after a few days of refreshment marched to attack Galway, which made a violent resistance for some days, and then surrendered, on receiving favourable terms. The garrison were permitted to retire to Limerick, and the inhabitants were not only pardoned, but allowed to enjoy their former estates and privileges.

Ginckle now proceeded towards Limerick, the last refuge of the discontented Irish, but being still desirous of preventing the further effusion of blood, he renewed his proclamation of pardon to "repenting rebels." Of this proclamation, however, but few of the Irish took the advantage, as the generality had the confidence of being again able to try their fortune in the field. In Limerick, though the garrison seemed determined to defend the place, there was a diversity of opinion on this point. The Irish, who adhered to the French, were for fighting to the last, while others thought their country would be preserved by submitting, and these two parties contended with each other with an acrimony increased by their misfortunes. Tyrconnel, who had some time been an advocate for moderate measures, and was on that account rendered odious to the generality of the Irish, died of vexation. The three Irish lords-justices, who now assumed the government in the name of James, declared for submission. On the contrary, Sarsfield, who was brave, violent, and enterprising, was averse to all accommodation, and the French generals, expecting succours from abroad, declared for war.

Ginckle advances.

In the mean while, Ginckle, being warned by the disappointment in the late attempt, proceeded towards Limerick with every possible precaution. He had the passes of the Shannon secured by armed vessels, and his artillery

Invests Limerick on all sides.

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XVII. conducted with a powerful escort. Having taken the several forts in his way, he arrived at Limerick on the twenty-fifth of August. He commenced his operations by directing his cannon from different batteries against the town, but found that nothing could be effected unless the enemy's intercourse with the county of Clare, from which they received supplies, could be cut off. This intercourse was carried on by means of a bridge called Thomond-bridge, of which it became necessary for Ginckle to get the command. For this purpose he resolved to make a lodgment, if possible, beyond the river, and in order to conceal his design, he made a show of raising the siege, dismounting the batteries he had erected, which lulled the Irish into security, who raised loud shouts of joy on the occasion; but, during the darkness of the night, he set about placing a bridge of tin boats across the river, and had it nearly completed before morning. By means of this a considerable body of troops was conveyed to an island, whence there was a ford to the main land of Clare, over which the English passed in the face of four regiments of Irish dragoons, appointed to guard the pass, who made a feeble resistance. The troops that had thus crossed the Shannon, being not found sufficient to effect the purpose intended, a larger body, under Ginckle himself, proceeded across on the twenty-second of September, and, after a sharp contest, forced their way to the works that protected Thomond-bridge. Orders being given to storm the works, the grenadiers, supported by two regiments, rushed boldly forward through a tremendous fire both of great and small arms, forced the Irish from their position, with all the reinforcements they received, and at last routed them entirely. At this time a French major, who commanded the post, apprehensive lest the English might enter with the fugitives, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and thus exposed his men to the fury of the enemy. Unhappily, before this fury could be stayed, six hundred Irish were slain on the bridge, whose carcases filled it to the very battlements, and one hundred and fifty were drowned in the river. The lives of only one hundred and twenty were preserved, who were made prisoners. Thus, at last, by such efforts was the city completely surrounded.

The next day, being the twenty-third of September, the garrison, after firing some hours from the batteries, at length beat a parley. A truce of three days was granted, during which an exchange of prisoners took place, when it appeared, that those in the town experienced cruel treatment, while humane attention was shewn to those in the English camp. On the third day terms of capitulation were offered to Ginckle, which he considered inadmissible, and of course prepared to renew the siege. He was then desired to propose such terms as he would grant, on which he made very liberal offers, that were accepted. The concessions, being reduced to regular form, were signed, on the third of October, by the lords-justices, who had come down for that purpose, by general Ginckle, and some other English generals.

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Capitulation.

The articles of Limerick, by which that city and all other posts possessed by the adherents of James in Ireland, were delivered up to the new government, contained the following concessions. It was agreed, that the Irish Roman catholics should be allowed such liberty in the exercise of their religion as they obtained in the reign of Charles II, and that their majesties, when a parliament could be convened, would procure them some further securities in this point; that they should be exempt from all suits at law for any acts committed by them during the course of the war; that they should enjoy their estates, and pursue their employments freely, as in the reign of the same Charles; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oath should be required of any except the oath of allegiance.

Articles.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Treatment received from Britain—Dispute with the viceroy—A parliament—Woollen manufacture destroyed—Vindication of Molyneux—British act on Irish forfeitures—Death of William—Succession of Anne—Whig and Tory—A parliament—Sacramental test—Penal statutes—Party proceedings—George I. attached to the whigs—Zealous loyalty of parliament—British act to bind Ireland—Dire effect—Patriotic efforts of Swift—Wood's halfpence—Death of George I.—Agency of primate Boulter—Catholics deprived of the elective franchise—A dearth—Emigrations—Cartaret succeeded by Dorset—A cabinet question lost—Tithe agistment—Government of Devonshire—War with Spain and France—Rebellion in Scotland—Chesterfield lord-lieutenant—His excellent administration—Succeeded by Harrington—Conduct of primate Stone—Charles Lucas.

CHAP. XVIII. As Ireland enjoyed repose for above a century from the cessation of the late war, it affords, during that time, but scanty materials for history, which is usually engaged in relating the troubles and miseries of mankind. Of course, during the continuance of tranquillity, the proceedings of its own parliament, with the treatment received from England, will supply the principal subject for a concise narrative. The exertions of Britons for the attainment of civil liberty, have been indeed conspicuous in all ages; but they usually desired, as has been too often the case in the world, to confine the privileges they acquired to themselves. Of this numerous instances have been already afforded in their illiberal conduct towards Ireland; but their severity was augmented by their late success, which gave more stability to their power. The glorious revolution of 1688, which established such an excellent system of civil freedom in

Treatment
received
from Bri-
tain.

* We are now deprived of the aid of Dr Leland, whose rigid impartiality, acute discernment, and laborious investigation, render him a useful guide to every Irish historian:

England, did not in the same degree extend its benign influence to Ireland. Though the Irish protestants were the principal means of securing that island for the British crown, yet they, as well as the catholics, were treated as a conquered people by the English parliament. The public disturbances in the country had hitherto afforded that legislature an excuse for the interposition of its authority, but on the present return of tranquillity it was found expedient that a local assembly should take place.

After an intermission of twenty-six years, except the partial meeting under James, a parliament was at length convened in Ireland by lord Sidney, the lord-lieutenant, for the purpose of granting money to the crown. The commons showed a sincere desire to supply the public exigencies, for which they voted seventy thousand pounds, but soon disputed with the lord-lieutenant with respect to the mode. Among the bills returned from England, certified according to Poynings' law, two happened to be money bills, and one of these was rejected by the commons, because it did not originate with themselves, which they declared to be their right. The other was passed merely on account of the urgency of the case. Sydney soon after prorogued the parliament, and in his speech accused the commons of invading the royal prerogative. On this they asked leave to send commissioners to state their case to the king and queen; to which he replied, "that they might go to England to beg their majesty's pardon for their seditious and riotous assembly." He then entered his protest against their supposed right of originating money bills, and got the opinion of the judges in his favour, who declared that the conduct of the commons was contrary to Poynings' law. The parliament was afterwards dissolved without doing any more business, though some very important bills were proposed for the redress of grievances.

Dispute
with the
viceroy.

Sidney being recalled, lord Capel was appointed lord-deputy, on account of the inclination he shewed to avoid the observation of the articles of Limerick. These were certainly considered grievous by the protestants, as, among other reasons, they were thence prevented from reclaiming the property of which they had been plundered by the ca

1693

C H A P. tholics. Yet, beside the obligation of observing a solemn
XVIII. engagement, they were at the time very advantageous, as
 they put an end to a war, which, by the arrival of the
 French reinforcements, might have continued some time
 longer.

1695. In a parliament convened by this governor, the proceed-
A parlia- ings of James's parliament were annulled ; the act of settle-
ment. ment explained and confirmed, and also the articles of Li-
 merick confirmed, but modified in such a manner as to lessen
 the security of the persons concerned. In this there was
 certainly some double-dealing ; but some additional penal
 statutes against catholics shewed the disposition of the go-
 vernment more plainly, and were directly contrary to the ar-
 ticles above mentioned. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor,
 a man of integrity, was a strenuous advocate for a strict ob-
 servance of them, which caused the opposite party to make
 an attempt to impeach him, but without effect, for when
 heard in his own defence before the commons, he was ho-
 nourably acquitted.

Woollen
manufac-
ture de-
stroyed.

The parliament of England, however, would not allow a
 local assembly the sole power of legislation, for, immedi-
 ately on the restoration of tranquillity, they proceeded to make
 laws for Ireland. Among these there was one for the abro-
 gation of the oath of supremacy, and the substitution of
 other oaths, by which the catholics were virtually excluded
 from both houses of parliament. By an act of the British
 legislature the proceedings of James's parliament in Ire-
 land were annulled previous to their abrogation by the Irish
 parliament. Their influence over king William was un-
 happily exerted for the destruction of the woollen manu-
 facture of Ireland, and accordingly the king required the
 Irish parliament to pass laws for the encouragement of the
 hempen and linen, and discouragement of the woollen ma-
 nufacture. In compliance with this requisition an act was
 passed, in 1698, imposing such additional duties on the
 exportation of woollens, except frizes, as amounted nearly
 to a prohibition ; but the British parliament, being not
 content with this restraint, passed severe prohibitory laws
 preventing the exportation from Ireland of all sorts of
 woollens. The persons accused of a breach of this law

were liable to be brought over to England, and tried there by a foreign jury, contrary to the spirit of the English constitution. CHAP.
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Thus was the Irish woollen manufacture destroyed, which was then in a prosperous state, considering the situation of the country, and, if allowed to extend, might have been the means of civilizing the south of Ireland, which, for ages, has been the scene of disturbance. In about six years after some encouragement, it is true, was given to the linen manufacture, but it was only adapted for a particular part of the country.

Such was the baneful effect of foreign interference, but the privileges of the Irish parliament were now vindicated by a patriotic senator, William Molyneux, member for the university, in a book entitled, ‘*The Case of Ireland’s being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated.*’ The authority of this parliament, he combats by arguments principally derived from historical facts, which tended to prove that Ireland was completely independent of England. Such pretensions gave great offence to the English commons, who passed a censure on the book, and also presented an address to his majesty on the occasion, stating their right to bind Ireland. Accordingly the book, by orders of the English government, received the honour of being burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The English commons took every opportunity of displaying their authority over Ireland, and their interference on another occasion in this point gave great uneasiness to the king. His majesty, on account of the insufficiency of parliamentary supplies, being unable to reward the services of his dependants, was obliged to make seventy-six grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland for that purpose. This act of prerogative gave great offence to the English commons, who accused the king unjustly with a breach of promise for not leaving the forfeitures to the disposal of parliament for the discharge of public debts. They then passed an act for appointing seven commissioners to inquire into the value of the confiscated lands, and the reason of their being alienated from the public. Of these commissioners three were disposed to act with moderation, the rest with vio-

British act,
1700, on
Irish for-
feitures.

C H A P. lence, being guided in their inquiries more by resentment
 XVIII. to the king, than regard to the interests of their country.

Their partiality was very pleasing to the commons, who magnified their services, and declared, that their report only was worthy of confidence. A bill for the resumption of the granted lands, as being public property, now passed through the lower house, in the upper one it met with great opposition, but was at length carried, and the king gave it his reluctant assent, expressing much dissatisfaction on the occasion.

During the preparation and progress of this bill, an universal alarm was excited among the persons concerned. Not only the grantees were to be deprived of a reward for their services, but thousands of others whose subsistence depended on their grants were in danger of being ruined; bargains and settlements of various kinds and of long continuance were to become void. Such considerations had but little effect on the commons, who declared by a vote, previous to their passing the bill, that no petitions should be received against it. However, they afterwards seemed to relax a little, for a number of trustees were named in the bill, in whom were vested all the confiscated estates, that some justice might be done to the several persons likely to be injured. These trustees came over, and entered on their business, but their conduct gave universal dissatisfaction; they were charged with injustice, venality, and corruption. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the commons, petitions poured into both houses against the trustees and the bill itself, but they were voted to be scandalous and false. With respect to the value of the lands, the commissioners and trustees differed very much in their report; the former made them worth a million and a half, the latter not more than a third part of that sum.

Death of
 William.

The violence done to the king's feelings by this last act made a deep impression on his spirits. Indeed, his sensibility from constant irritation had become greatly increased, and by the loss of his amiable queen, who died in 1694, he was deprived of a kind assistant to alleviate his care. For some time past his health and constitution had gradually declined, but his dissolution, which took place in 1701, was acce-

lerated by a fall from his horse, by which his collar-bone was fractured.

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XVIII.

King William was a prince possessed of true greatness of mind, the defender of political liberty, and patron of universal toleration. His rival James, supported by the king of France, and too many of the English people, was still devising schemes for depriving him of his throne, but their schemes were continually defeated, and their hopes finally crushed, in 1692, by the important victory gained over the French fleet off La Hogue. Placed at the head of a great confederacy, for the purpose of restraining the inordinate ambition of Lewis, he at length succeeded in effecting his object, and then concluded a general peace in 1699. Few monarchs are more respectable in history, and few have contributed more to the service of mankind in general, and of their subjects in particular, yet very few have met with such factious opposition from those who reaped the benefit of their labours.

He was succeeded by Anne, princess of Denmark, daughter of James II. who had sacrificed her filial affection, either to her desire of pleasing the people of England, or her attachment to the protestant religion. She was a well inclined princess, but rather weak, and of course liable to be guided by favourites, and subject to the control of faction.

1701.
Succession
of Anne.

The two leading parties in England were called whigs and tories. The former in politics were zealous advocates for liberty; in religion inclined to the principles of the dissenters, and of course possessed with an abhorrence of popery. The latter were attached to the slavish doctrine of non-resistance, and affected a strenuous zeal for the established church, which they considered to be in more danger from dissenters than papists. The queen in the first part of her reign was subject to the whigs, and in the second to the tories, and of course her proceedings bore a different complexion at these several periods.

The duke of Ormond having succeeded lord Rochester in the government of Ireland, convened a parliament in 1703. A supply of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds was voted for this and the following year, and after this

A parliament.

C H A P. XVIII. useful grant for the public service, the parliament set forth a statement of grievances to the queen. Among these were the unconstitutional interference of a foreign legislature, the corrupt conduct of the trustees of forfeited estates, the severe restrictions of commerce, the unfrequent meetings of parliament, with some others of less magnitude, but little attention was afforded to their complaint. They however proceeded to rectify such public abuses as were subject to their authority, and, in particular, abolished useless pensions to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds a-year, an instance of patriotism seldom imitated by their successors. They also shewed their regard to the protestant interest, by passing an act similar to the one in England, for settling the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover.

Sacramental test.

By the tenor of these proceedings, it appeared that the whigs, who had extended over to Ireland, were the prevailing party in parliament. Their influence was also in a high degree displayed in a bill which passed the commons *to prevent the farther growth of popery*, in which several additional severities were enacted against the catholics. The abhorrence entertained by the whigs for people of their persuasion, was not only on account of their religious but political principles, as they were all Jacobites, and of course the highest species of tories. At the very time the bill was passing the house, the queen, who was in close alliance with the emperor of Germany, had requested from him some indulgence to his protestant subjects. Her ministry were therefore very unwilling that a persecuting law should pass at such a time, but dared not openly reject it, through fear of offending the powerful party that espoused it. In their delicate situation, they had therefore recourse to a subterfuge, by adding a clause to it which they expected would cause the protestant dissenters to oppose it with effect. This clause, according to the tenor of the English test act, declared all persons in Ireland incapable of holding any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who did not receive the sacrament in the manner prescribed by the established church. Government, however, were disappointed in the expectations they formed of the dissenters, for they made no opposition to the bill, in hope

of the clause being soon repealed. The catholics, as was natural, employed council to plead against it at the bar of the house of lords and commons, but without effect, for the bill passed, and the clause so obnoxious to the dissenters called the *sacramental test*, to their great disappointment, was allowed to continue in it after their repeated application for its repeal. CHAP.
XVIII.

This bill was certainly a gross violation of the articles of Limerick. The justification offered for passing it was the resentment the parliament entertained against the catholics for their intolerant spirit, so often displayed, and their apprehensions of a pretender to the throne, lately arisen, a violent bigot to that persuasion, who might get assistance from the catholics, if they had any power, which they were apt to abuse to the worst purposes. A few salutary restrictions, however, might have been sufficient to prevent the operation of this dangerous spirit, without a terrible code, which served only to confirm bigotry, and debase the human intellect. The penal statutes of this reign, contained in the present bill and others, were indeed a disgrace to a protestant legislature, professing liberality, and affecting to condemn popery for its intollerant spirit. Penal sta-
tutes.

The articles were numerous and severe, but a few of the most prominent may suit the purpose of the present sketch. Catholics were disqualified for serving as members of parliament, and curtailed in their privilege of voting at elections. They were forbidden to hold offices civil or military; to take leases longer than thirty-one years. The estates of those dying intestate were to be divided among their sons equally, or, if they had no sons, among their daughters, by which it was intended to break the power of the distinguished families. If the son of a catholic became a protestant, he was then heir at law, and the father had no longer power to load his estate with any incumbrance. The severity of fathers to any of their children, who changed their religion, served as an excuse for that clause. Catholics were prevented from educating their children at home, and of course the bigotry of those sent abroad for that purpose was increased, and their inveteracy to the English government. They were not allowed a horse worth five pounds;

C H A P. but the generosity of protestants, in most cases of extreme
XVIII. severity, prevented the strict execution of the penal code.

During the life of king William, who was conspicuous for his liberality, no such bills would have obtained the royal assent; but the salutary effects of his lenity to the catholics did not prevent their being brought forward in the present reign.

Party pro-
ceedings.

The principles of the parties of whigs and tories, who contended so violently with each other in this reign, have been already mentioned. The tories in their zeal for the established church, used to cry out that *the church was in danger*, for which a censure was passed against them, by the house of commons. The established clergy then, who were generally considered as tories, found it necessary to express in convocation, their gratitude for the benefits derived from king William, and their zeal for the protestant succession as settled by law. The clergy in the university, indeed, showed their attachment to the revolution, as they expelled one of their members, Edward Forbes, for casting aspersions on the memory of king William. Their conduct on this occasion was so agreeable to parliament that they applied to the queen, in 1709, for five thousand pounds for building a library, and their application was favourably received by her majesty. The viceroy, through whom their address was transmitted, was the earl of Wharton, successor to the earl of Pembroke, a whig in profession, but a deist in reality, and, as was natural, a man of profligate morals. Being sent to Ireland to repair his shattered fortune, he scraped up in three years forty-five thousand pounds.

Towards the end of queen Ann's reign the clergy more openly professed their principles, which they could with safety, as the government were now tories. The lords were of the same principles, but the commons were still attached to the whigs. In 1713 the commons addressed the queen for the removal of sir Constantine Phipps, the chancellor, an active tory; but the lords passed contrary resolutions, in which they were backed by the clergy. The whigs and tories had also violent disputes in Dublin about the choice of a lord mayor, in which government took an active part.

During the former part of her reign, when the queen was under the direction of the whigs, she entered into a con-

federacy against France with the German emperor and the Dutch republic, to prevent the French monarch's grandson from being established king of Spain. The war that now took place was remarkable for the glorious and important victories gained over the French by the duke of Marlborough at the head of the confederate army. But when her majesty's councils became directed by the tories, and Marlborough was dismissed, they concluded, in 1713, a peace with the French monarch, on terms less unfavourable than those he had before solicited in vain.

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Her father, the late king James, having died in France in 1700, left his *pretensions* to the British crown to his son, who was thence called the *pretender*, and also styled the Chevalier de Saint George. The queen's last ministry seemed desirous of his success, and certainly left Ireland open to his attempts, for when a bill of attainder against him was brought into the Irish parliament, they prevented its passing by a prorogation. They had also a great part of the army in Ireland disbanded, at the very time his partisans were openly recruiting in the same country for his service. But their schemes, whatever they were, were cut short by the queen's death, which took place on the first of August 1714. Her capacity was rather limited, but her intentions were virtuous, and her attachment to the church of England sincere. During her whole reign, whether subject to the whigs or tories, she enjoyed an unbounded popularity, and with justice got the title of the good queen Ann. In 1706 she accomplished the union of Scotland with England, which has turned out of such advantage to both countries.

George, elector of Hanover, as already settled by act of parliament, was proclaimed king without opposition, being now in the fifty-fifth year of his age. On his arrival he showed a visible attachment to the whigs, and aversion to the tories, whom he removed from all power. Offended at the severity with which they were treated, and the partiality shown their opponents, the tories annexed themselves to the party of the pretender, whose adherents, being then increased, raised a rebellion in Scotland and the north of England towards the end of 1715, but their attempt was

1714.
George I.
attached to
the whigs.

CHAP.
XVIII. not attended with the effect they desired, for in the latter country they were surrounded and taken prisoners, and in the former they fought a battle with dubious success. In a few weeks after the pretender landed himself in Scotland for the purpose of encouraging his partisans, but after displaying great bigotry and little prudence he was obliged to make his escape. On the suppression of the rebellion many of its leaders were executed, and the new line of monarchs firmly seated on the British throne.

Zealous
loyalty of
parliament

While Britain was thus involved in confusion, an uninterrupted tranquillity prevailed in Ireland. The parliament convened in November 1715 by the lords-justices, the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway, commenced their proceedings with a zealous display of their loyalty. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title, for the security of his person and government, for setting a price on the pretender's head, and for attainting the duke of Ormond, who had been treated with great rigour by the British parliament for co-operating with the queen's last ministry. They granted the supplies without opposition; they obliged all those of the tory party who had addressed the late queen in favour of sir Constantine Phipps to beg pardon for their offence on their knees. They requested the king by a public address to remove from his council and service the earl of Anglesey for advising her late majesty to disband the army, and prorogue the parliament, and passed another address to the lords-justices recommending the corporation of Dublin to the king for the public virtue and faithful services of the aldermen and sheriffs at the late election of a lord mayor.

The proceedings of parliament clearly show that they were influenced by the spirit of the whigs, who, from the accession of his present majesty, were entrusted with the exclusive administration of public affairs both in England and Ireland. This assembly in all their addresses and resolutions made use of very violent expressions against papists, and particularly popish priests and friars, who were the supposed objects of their dread and abhorrence. The Irish catholics, however, continued peaceable in their conduct, restrained by the penal laws, and the remembrance of

the disappointment they had endured. So little expectation had the Jacobites from their assistance, that the duke of Ormond, in his rash attempt in 1718, to invade, at the head of a Spanish fleet and army, some part of king George's dominions, in support of the pretender, had no intention to proceed to Ireland, where the catholics, and particularly his own tenantry, were so numerous. The object of his destination was Scotland, where men of influence and resolution were attached to the house of Stuart, and extremely averse to the new government; but his schemes, to which he was urged by the violence of his enemies, were happily frustrated by a storm.

The zeal, however, of the present parliament, in opposition to popery, and in favour of the government, did not prevent the British legislature from continuing its encroachments. Having already taken notice of some attempts of this kind during the reign of William, it may be necessary also to give a slight sketch of some others during the late reign, previous to the account of the direct measures in the present one. In 1702, during the recess of the Irish parliament, the earl and countess of Meath were, by an appeal to the English peers, dispossessed of some lands which an Irish court of law had decreed to be their property. In 1703 the Irish lords, in consequence of such interference, passed a resolution declaring the judgment of their house to be final, and expressing severe censures against any that should oppose it. The bishop of Derry, having claimed some lands of his see from the London society, obtained judgment in his favour on a trial before the Irish peers, but the English lords, on an appeal from the society, in 1708, gave a contrary judgment. The English act of parliament, passed in 1714, *to prevent the growth of schism*, declared that this law included Ireland as fully as any part of England. In the present reign, however, they proceeded directly to the point, which was occasioned by the following circumstance. Maurice Annesley, in a suit with Hester Sherlock for an estate, got a decree in his favour by the court of exchequer; but, on an appeal to the Irish lords, the decree was reversed, which caused a second appeal to be made to the British lords, by whom it was confirmed, and

British act
to bind Ire-
land.

CHAP.
XVIII.

an order given to put Annesley in possession of his estate. The sheriff, being commanded to that effect by an injunction from the court of exchequer, refused to obey, for which he was severely fined by the barons of the exchequer; stating his case in a petition to the Irish lords his conduct was approved, his fines annulled, and the barons of the exchequer taken into custody. The Irish lords then had a memorial declaring their rights presented to the king, which was read before the British peers, but only made them more confirmed in their opinion, for they passed resolutions commending the conduct of the barons of the Irish exchequer, and supplicating his majesty to confer some mark of favour on them for the sufferings they had endured. They then brought in a bill, which was passed, with some opposition, through both houses, entitled an act *for the better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain*. The bill divested the Irish house of lords of the right of judicature on appeals, and declared that the British parliament had *full power and authority to make laws to bind the people of Ireland*. Thus were their different encroachments concluded by a positive statute, depriving, by iniquitous power, this kingdom of its rights.

Dire effect The Irish parliament and nation were now in a degrading state of subjection, and the people were wretchedly poor, being precluded from the benefits of industry by restricting laws. So insignificant was the kingdom considered by the English government, that the viceroy would only deign to come over for a short time once in two years, leaving the management of affairs to lords-justices, chosen from the principal state officers of the country, whose chief business was to combine such a body of the aristocracy as would be sufficient to effect the plans of the British cabinet. In both kingdoms the whigs had the ascendancy. Hence dissenters were the favourites, and catholics the objects of aversion. Party was the principal consideration, and the prosperity of the country was little regarded.

Patriotic
efforts of
Swift

The old tories now, through hatred of their opponents, in conjunction with some real friends of the nation's welfare, formed a party termed *patriots*, to oppose the ministry. At the head of this party was Dr Swift, the cele-

brated dean of St. Patrick's, whose admirable writings give a sad picture of national distress. In one of these, published in 1720, he recommends the universal use of Irish manufacture, for which Waters, its printer, was arrested and brought to trial, when Whitshed, the chief-justice, solemnly declared, that the author's design was to bring the pretender into the country. Nine times he remanded the jury, until at last they were obliged, through weariness, to give what is called a special verdict, by which the matter was left to the mercy of the judge; but it was not thought prudent to proceed any farther in the business. A favourite opportunity some time after occurred for an eminent display of the author's talents.

As copper money was very scarce in Ireland, and no liberty allowed, after frequent solicitation, to establish a mint in the country, it was at last thought expedient, in order to supply the deficiency, to grant a royal patent to William Wood, an Englishman, for coining halfpence and farthings for circulation in that kingdom, to the amount of a hundred and eight thousand pounds. This was represented as an odious job by Swift, the virulent enemy of the present government, who exposed it with all the acrimony of wit, in the pamphlets published under the title of the *Drapier's Letters*. It was asserted that the coin was so deficient in weight, and its metal of such inferior quality, that the amount of a shilling was not really worth more than a penny: that Wood might pour into the kingdom a greater quantity than he was authorized to do by his patent: that foreigners counterfeiting the stamp might inundate the country with base coin: that at last, when the whole sunk in exchange to its real value, as would certainly be the case, the entire loss must fall on the people of Ireland. Such writings had the effect desired. Addresses to his majesty against the patent were voted by the Irish parliament, and most of the cities. The grand jury of the county of Dublin presented, as enemies to the country, all who should attempt to circulate the coin; and it was generally decried by the gentlemen at the several quarter-sessions.

On the contrary, the English privy council set forth, that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the prerogative

1724.
Wood's
halfpence.

CHAP.
XVIII.

gative of granting patents similar to that granted to William Wood; that the patent had been granted with the approbation of sir Isaac Newton, who had been consulted in every particular; that he and other officers of the mint, who made the assay of Wood's halfpence, found he had complied with the terms of the patent, that his currency exceeded in quality and quantity, as they declared, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland in the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary.

Swift labours hard in his answer; but supereminent wit and humour made amends for any deficiency of argument. After Wood had coined halfpence to the amount of forty thousand pounds, the patent was recalled in the succeeding year, and thus the ferment was allayed. One of the Drapier's letters, asserting the rights of Ireland, was considered so seditious by government, that a proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant, lord Cartaret, offering for the discovery of the author a reward of three hundred pounds. No discovery, however, was made, and a prosecution commenced against the printer was equally ineffectual, for the grand jury would not find the bill.

Death of
George I.

Little else worthy of notice, relating to Ireland, took place during the remainder of this reign. The king died on the eleventh of June 1727, on his way to Hanover, for which he entertained a parental regard. In his manners he was grave and formal, having ascended the throne at an advanced period of his life. He was by no means inattentive to business; but being obliged, from his peculiar situation, to throw himself into the hands of party, he found it convenient, from the easiness of his temper, to accede to some measures of their dictating, which may be supposed to be contrary both to his own judgment and benevolent inclinations.

1727.
Agency of
primate
Boulter.

On his demise, his son, the prince of Wales, ascended the throne in the forty-fifth year of his age, under the title of George II. No alteration now took place either with respect to men and measures; sir Robert Walpole continued prime minister of England, and lord Cartaret lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The government, however, of the latter country, from the year 1624 to 1742, was principally directed by

Boulter, the primate, whose chief object, as appears by his letters, was to maintain an *English interest*, for the purpose of effecting the designs of the British cabinet. He was, however, a man possessed of many private virtues, and was remarkable for his charities, and liberal encouragement of useful institutions. CHAP. XVIII.

A new parliament being now convened, an act was passed for regulating parliamentary elections, in which a clause was inserted, by way of amendment, entirely depriving the catholics of the elective franchise, a liberty they had enjoyed, with some restrictions, before. For the first time since the revolution, they had, at the commencement of the present reign, ventured to approach with an address to the new sovereign, which was presented to the lords-justices, accompanied by an humble request, that it should be transmitted to his majesty. Their reception, however, was not very gracious, nor is it even now well known whether their address was transmitted or suppressed. It was supposed their interference, even in that instance, in political affairs, gave offence to the ruling party, and was the means of their being deprived of the elective franchise, as Boulter was apprehensive, that if they acted at all in that way, their exertions would be against his interest. The party of the patriots, he thought, might thus be increased, who were the objects of his jealousy.

Unhappily, at this period, more attention was paid to party motives than to the national welfare. In 1728, and 1729, on account of the general discouragement of industry, a scarcity of corn took place, which amounted to nearly a famine in Ulster. About this time commenced the emigrations to America from Ulster, occasioned by restricted commerce and high rents, whence, even then, as mentioned by Boulter, three thousand people, and all of them protestants, were annually drained. A dearth.
Emigrations.

At length the attention of parliament was attracted by these affairs. In the sessions which ended in May 1728, and April 1730, laws were passed for the encouragement of agriculture, the linen manufacture, and the better employment of the poor. Such laws were rendered more advantageous by his majesty's remitting, with great liberality, his Cartaret succeeded by Dorset.

CHAP. hereditary duties on wool and yarn exported to England.

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Resolutions were passed by the commons to prevent the interference of noblemen in parliamentary elections, and also to prevent the reversal of outlawries for the two last rebellions, occasioned by the application of the earl of Clanricarde to be restored to the estates of his family, as he had conformed to the established religion in the reign of Anne, and taken his seat in the house of peers. It was judged unfair, that people who had purchased estates under parliamentary sanction, should be thus deprived of their properties. All the public bills that had now passed the two houses, were sanctioned into laws by the royal assent; of which the parliament took notice in their address to the chief governor, with this significant observation, that it was a happiness peculiar to this session. In 1731 was terminated the government of lord Cartaret, an elegant scholar and able politician, though in early life, and also very honourably distinguished for the attention he paid to the interests of the country under his care. He was succeeded by the duke of Dorset.

1731.
A cabinet
question
lost.

During the administration of this nobleman, the patriotic party, of whom Boulter was so jealous, acquired a considerable degree of power. In the year 1715, apprehensions being entertained of the Pretender, the Irish house of commons passed a vote of credit to government, which laid the foundation of our national debt. For discharging the interest and the principal of this debt, a fund was provided by the commons, which the friends of government, during the last administration, attempted to have granted to the king, his heirs and successors for ever, still subject to be redeemed by parliament; but they could not carry their point in the house, as it was considered more constitutional that it should be only granted from session to session. A motion was now made, that it should be vested in the crown for twenty years, but it was lost by a majority of one. The casting vote was given by colonel Tottenham, member for Ross, in the county of Wexford, who rode to Dublin in a hurry on that occasion.

A great majority of the house being composed of men of landed property, it was natural they should be desirous to

shift from themselves the blame of any unfavourable incident that might occur. Accordingly they ascribed the emigrations to America, which were caused by exorbitant rents, not to these, but to the unreasonable demands of the clergy. CHAP.
XVIII.
Tithe agistment. Tithe agistment, which was that of dry cattle, they supposed to be particularly obnoxious, and affected to consider the claim for it as new and unfounded, though all suits for it in the courts of law had been constantly determined in favour of the clergy. Some petitions presented against it by the graziers were very favourably received, and resolutions passed disapproving of the demand, “as it would impair the protestant interest, and cause popery and infidelity to prevail.” This had the desired effect, for from that time no person attempted to recover it by law. Thus were all restraints removed from grazing, to the discouragement of agriculture, from which the clergy, in order to procure subsistence, were obliged to exact their dues with more care. Hence the complaint of tithes in the south of Ireland, which for many years has afforded a pretence for disturbance.

The duke of Dorset was succeeded, in 1737, by the duke of Devonshire, whose Irish administration was the longest and most quiet of any that occurred since the accession of the house of Hanover. His style of living was most magnificent, in which, as also in constructing works of public utility, he spent his private income. A wharf built in the port of Dublin at his expense still retains his name, for it is called “Devonshire wharf.” As few events worthy of notice occurred during his long administration, it may be only necessary to mention an attempt made by lord Clancarty, similar to the one already made by lord Clanricarde, and with similar success. Having obtained the consent of the British cabinet, that a bill should be brought into the Irish parliament, for the purpose of restoring him to his estates, forfeited by his adherence to James in 1688, and supposed to be worth sixty thousand pounds a-year, he of course resolved to make the trial. But his expectations were disappointed by the strenuous resolutions of the Irish commons, and an address to the king passed in 1739, setting forth, that any attempts to disturb the protestant purchasers of estates forfeited by rebellion, would be of danger.

1737.
1745.

Government of
Devonshire.

C H A P rous consequence to his majesty's person and government.
XVIII. However averse they were to the catholic religion, they did
 not wish to part with the catholic lands.

War with
Spain and
France.

In the very year in which this address was passed, the English minister was forced into a war with Spain, by a factious opposition in the British parliament. In February 1742 he resigned his high situation, as the majority of the house of commons turned against him, and was appointed earl of Oxford. Sir Robert Walpole, it must be owned, was an able and honest minister, but obliged, by the violence of an unprincipled party, to make use of corruption for the purpose of effecting those measures, that were in reality conducive to the public welfare. This party, having now got into power, opposed, with a shameless inconsistency, all those popular bills for which they were so clamorous before, and pursued a conduct exactly similar to that for which they had condemned their predecessors, with such affected zeal for the public interests. France having soon taken part with Spain in the prosecution of the war, it turned out rather unfavourable for England.

1745.
Rebellion
in Scotland

This country was however alarmed by a rebellion in Scotland, occasioned by the landing of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Pretender. Being joined by most of the Highland chiefs with their vassals, and proclaiming his father, the old Chevalier, king in Edinburgh and some other towns, the spirits of him and his party were raised by a victory over the English army at Prestonpans. Assuming now all the pomp of majesty, he continued some time in Edinburgh displaying his empty parade, and by this delay gave the English government time to take effectual measures to oppose his progress. At length he marched into England, and proceeding through Manchester and Derby came within a hundred miles of the capital; but he found it necessary to stop on account of the spirited associations formed against him, and retired to Scotland, where he gained a second victory over the English army at Falkirk. Here, however, his success was terminated, and the decisive battle of Culloden put a final end to his hopes.

On his landing, the English cabinet appointed a nobleman to the government of Ireland, who was well qualified

to preserve the peace of the country. This nobleman was the celebrated earl of Chesterfield, whose Irish administration exhibits his character for political rectitude and ability in the most favourable point of view. The high office to which he was selected he refused to accept unless on condition that he should be freed from all restraint, and full liberty allowed him to act as he should think fit in the present exigency. On meeting the parliament he told them he made no professions, well knowing how customary it was to forget them, and desired them to judge of him by his actions.

CHAP
XVIII.
Chester-
field.
lord-lieute-
nant.

He began by endeavouring by lenient measures to reconcile the catholics, who had been morosely treated, and afforded them the free exercise of their religion. The illiberal accusations brought against them, founded on mere suspicion, he disregarded, and received all rumours of plots and insurrections with contempt. When his vice-treasurer assured him one morning in a fright that all Connaught was up, he looked at his watch, and observed, "it was time for them to get up, for it was now nine o'clock." From the tenor of his government, he knew he gave no cause for discontent, and therefore gave no credit to its existence, having full confidence in the peaceable disposition of the people. Instead of raising new regiments or demanding troops from Britain, he sent four battalions to reinforce the royal army of Scotland, supplying their place with additional companies annexed to the regiments already on the establishment. He also encouraged volunteer associations for national defence, without augmenting the public expenditure, the influence of the crown, his own patronage, or private emolument. Relying for the support of his administration on the integrity of his measures, he abstained from the pernicious custom of gaining partisans by reversionary grants. The supply he asked was very moderate, was collected with care, and managed with such economy, that after the uses for which it was appointed were effected, a part of it remained, which was applied to the improvement of the harbour of Cork. Such excellent conduct gained him the esteem of all parties and persuasions. The effect was visible in the condition of the country, for while a violent rebellion raged

His excel-
lent admini-
stration.

CHAP. XVIII. in Scotland, a profound tranquillity prevailed in Ireland, but as soon as this rebellion was suppressed by the battle of Culloden, which took place on the sixteenth of April 1746, the earl of Chesterfield was recalled. In nine days after that event he left the country. He was extorted by their necessities from the British cabinet, and as soon as the necessity ceased, was removed. Such were the maxims by which Ireland unhappily has been too often ruled. The people parted with their amiable chief governor with deep regret, and as a mark of their gratitude erected, at the public expense, his bust in the castle of Dublin.

Succeeded
by Harrington.

He was succeeded by the earl of Harrington, who did not immediately come over, but left the government of the kingdom to lords-justices. The contest between the English and Irish interest, which was suspended during the short administration of Chesterfield, was now renewed, and the chief management of the former, which was transferred from Boulter to primate Hoadley, devolved, in 1747, on primate Stone, who was promoted from the see of Derry.

Conduct of
primate
Stone.

This prelate, like too many churchmen, was of a haughty imperious temper, regardless of his pastoral duties, and entirely devoted to politics. He scrupled at no means for the accomplishment of his favourite ends of gaining adherents, whom he treated with great hospitality, and, in the season of festivity, supplied, it is said, with indulgent females for their amusement. His vices were severely exposed by his opponents, who even accused him of an abominable gratification. For this there was no positive proof, but it was difficult to account for his *partialities* in any other manner. In a country of catholics it was certainly injurious to the protestant religion to put such a man at the head of the church, but in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments the interests of religion are seldom considered. His chief opponent, as leader of the patriotic or Irish interest, was Henry Boyle, speaker of the house of commons, who was afterwards created earl of Shannon. This party also received very considerable aid from an extraordinary individual.

Charles
Lucas.

Charles Lucas, an apothecary from Cork, having settled in Dublin, was admitted into the common council of that

city. From this body, by means of innovations made in the charters of corporate towns in the reign of Charles II. the power of chusing their own magistrates was taken, and placed in the board of aldermen, subject to the controul of the chief-governor and privy council. Lucas, anxious for the rights of his fellow-citizens, but unable to oppose a positive law, by a laborious investigation of records, at length discovered that, in other respects, encroachments had been made on their privileges without legal sanction. In 1741 he published his discoveries with suitable observations, which raised a furious contest between the aldermen and commons. Being encouraged to offer himself as a candidate to represent the city in parliament, his publications were of course multiplied, in which he did not confine himself to the rights of the citizens of Dublin, but set forth those of the people of Ireland as a separate kingdom. By these, and a memorial to the lord-lieutenant, sufficiently respectful, but firm, such alarm was given to the adherents of administration, that they resolved to crush him by the hand of power. For this purpose certain passages most obnoxious to the state were selected from his publications, and made the subject of a charge, which was brought against him before parliament. Hence a majority of the commons, whose right he had endeavoured to vindicate, instead of protecting him for his exertions in their behalf, voted him an enemy to his country, and addressed the lord-lieutenant to order him to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney-general. To shelter himself from the impending storm, he was obliged to leave the kingdom, but afterwards returned, on a change of circumstances in his favour, and at length obtained the honour of representing the city of Dublin in parliament. His subsequent conduct was suitable to his original profession, for he continued an incorruptible patriot till the day of his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

Peace restored—Dispute about previous consent—Mode of reconciliation—Spirited resolutions—National poverty—A mob—War with France—Chief invasion prevented—Descent of Thurot—Death of George II—Declaration of George III—Peace—White Boys—Hearts of Oak—Compliance of parliament—Townshend chief-governor—Octennial bill—His new system—His success completed—Hearts of Steel.

CHAP.
XIX.

1748.
Peace re-
stored.

THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was certainly very grateful to the English nation, especially as the terms of it were more favourable than might be expected from the numerous defeats that the allies had sustained. These defeats were the natural consequence of the great diversity of talents subsisting between the two opposite commanders, marshal Saxe and the duke of Cumberland. In discussing the terms of peace, the original cause of the war, the right claimed by the Spaniards of searching vessels adjacent to their American possessions, was never once considered. On such frivolous pretences are wars too often undertaken.

1749.

The trade of Ireland having considerably increased after this treaty, a large sum of money remained in the treasury after the necessary expenses of government were defrayed. A competent part of this sum, which consisted of the surplus of the hereditary revenue and additional taxes, was applied by act of parliament towards the payment of the national debt. Though this act was returned from England without alteration, and passed into a law, yet the courtiers began to consider that the previous consent of the king was necessary for the application of the money, and their opinions on this subject had some time after their due operation.

The duke of Dorset, having returned this year to the government of Ireland, in his speech from the throne observed, that ‘ the king would graciously consent to the ap-

plication of a part of the money then remaining in the treasury towards the farther reduction of the national debt." CHAP. XIX.
 A bill to that effect was now sent over to England by the commons, in which the word *consent* was not mentioned, but 1751.
 it was inserted by the British cabinet, and the bill thus Dispute about previous consent.
 altered was passed on its return by the Irish parliament without opposition. In 1753 the patriotic party being better prepared, the affair took a contrary turn; for a bill of the same nature, and with the same alterations as the former one, was on its return rejected in the commons by a majority of five; a victory over the court which was celebrated in the country by public rejoicings. Government, being irritated at the disappointment, took a successful mode of retaliation, for, out of nearly three hundred and sixteen thousand pounds lying in the treasury, only seventy-seven thousand five hundred were applied towards the reduction of the national debt, and the rest was carried over to England by king's letter, instead of being expended in the country for works of national advantage. It was allowed however, by all parties, that the crown had full power dispose at pleasure of that portion of the sum above mentioned lying in the treasury, which was taken from the hereditary revenue.

The opposition given the administration on this occasion was very highly resented. Those having places under government, who supported the popular cause, were mostly displaced, and if a few were retained, it was contrary to the urgent desire of the primate. The conduct of this ambitious churchman, and of lord George Sackville, the chief-governor's son, an insolent assuming young man, gave very general offence. Discontents increased, and the mob of Dublin exhibited their resentment in such a terrific manner, that the viceroy, alarmed for his safety, made his escape from the kingdom with all convenient speed.

He was succeeded by the marquis of Hartington, afterwards created duke of Devonshire, under whom an effectual 1755.
 method was taken to reconcile the popular party. Mode of reconciliation.
 Primate Stone was removed from the privy council; Boyle, the great leader of the opposition, was created earl of Shannon, with a pension of two thousand a-year; John Ponsonby, son of

CHAP. the earl of Besborough, was appointed speaker in his room ;
XIX. several others of the same faction were advanced to lucrative employments, and most of those who had been removed from their places for favouring the popular cause, were honourably restored. Such methods were sufficient to soften the most obdurate patriotism.

The men of influence in the house of commons took another mode of converting this influence to their own private advantage. When they could not lay their hands on the surplus in the treasury, they took effectual means to prevent the existence of such a surplus at all. They procured various grants of the national money, ostensibly for public, but in reality for private uses, and contended with each other in getting the disposal of these grants. On such occasions they showed such eagerness in snapping at the emoluments, that they were styled the *scrambling* committee. As it was impossible for government to satisfy all the aristocracy, those neglected exhibited *at first* a strenuous zeal for the interests of the country, and some of them, who had boroughs, brought able speakers into parliament to support the opposition. Government, however, took care to attach to the party the generality of the great proprietors of boroughs, who made a bargain to procure a majority for their measures in parliament, on condition of certain royal favours being left to their disposal, in order to make their followers dependent on them. Such great persons were termed *undertakers*, and the influence of the crown was in reality in their hands. Two of these with an Englishman, who was either the primate or lord chancellor, executed the office of lords-justices, in the absence of the viceroy, who only resided in Ireland one winter in two years at the time the parliament was sitting. The success of such management was evidently displayed the next year. A bill was introduced requiring each member of the house of commons accepting any pension or place of profit from the crown to vacate their seats, but after some progress it was rejected by a considerable majority.

1757. Under the administration of the duke of Bedford, who succeeded to the government of Ireland this year, the house of commons proved themselves to retain some portion of

their pristine spirit. Resolutions were passed by them, dis-
 approving of the improper grant of pensions on the civil
 establishment, many of which were given to persons not
 residing in the country ; and by another vote, the members,
 with the speaker at their head, waited on the lord-lieute-
 nant with a request that he would lay their resolutions be-
 fore the king. The answer returned was, “ that the mat-
 ter contained in these resolutions was of so high a nature,
 that he could not suddenly determine whether the trans-
 mitting of them to his majesty would be proper.” The
 popular party, being dissatisfied with this answer, proposed
 an adjournment till a more satisfactory one should be re-
 ceived, which, after a warm debate, was carried by a ma-
 jority of twenty one. On this decision the lord-lieutenant
 informed the house, by a message, that its resolutions
 should be immediately forwarded to the king ; a concession
 so agreeable to the commons that they voted unanimously
 the bill of supplies, and proceeded to other business. How-
 ever, their spirit seemed to evaporate by this sudden gust
 of patriotism, for the resolutions concerning pensions were
 not effectually pursued.

CHAP.
 XIX.
 Spirited
 resolutions.

The augmentation of revenue already noted was not
 owing to the increase of national riches, but to the importa-
 tion of foreign luxuries, and hence a deceitful show of
 wealth was exhibited at the time the country in reality
 became poorer. This is evident by the treasury being
 full at the time public credit was low, which was shown by
 the failure of some principal banks. A more serious cala-
 mity took place in 1757, for a famine raged in many parts
 of Ireland, and especially in Ulster, owing to the neglect of
 encouragement to agriculture. At present twenty thousand
 pounds were issued from the treasury for the relief of the
 poor, and the year after a bill was passed granting bounties
 on the land-carriage of corn and flour to the capital. This
 bill, which was afterwards amended, was the first of the
 corn laws by which agriculture has been so much improved.

Grants of money were afforded by parliament with suffi-
 cient liberality for national purposes, such as for canals,
 harbours, and other public works. Such grants were ex-
 tremely necessary in a country so deficient in capital, and

C H A P.
XIX. would have been serviceable to the public if the works were faithfully executed, which seldom was the case. To the university of Dublin at this time thirty thousand pounds was granted in two successive sessions, of which indeed, a proper use was made, for it was carefully applied to enlarging that seminary. Both the English government and the Irish parliament formed very erroneous ideas of the national wealth, and hence military expenses and pensions were originated, and a new national debt established, the origin of the funded stock of Ireland. In one year (1759) votes of credit were given for four hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and by the supply of this loan the banks were so drained that three of the principal ones in Dublin stopped payment, which caused the interference of parliament in their behalf.

A mob. Discontent being now very prevalent, the effect, indeed, of national poverty, the acts of government were on that account interpreted in the most unfavourable sense. This was very evident on a particular occasion. A body of catholics of the mercantile class in the city of Dublin, having, through the medium of the speaker, transmitted a loyal address to the lord-lieutenant, which was very graciously received, a number of others of a similar nature was then poured into the castle from different parts of the kingdom. The encouragement given to those people, who laboured under such political disabilities, was ascribed by some designing persons to a scheme formed by government for effecting a union, to which, it was said, they were anxious to get the catholics to consent. An universal alarm was now raised of the parliament being taken away, and Ireland being subjected to the same taxes as England.

Sept. 1759. Hence an immense mob rose in Dublin, forced their way into the house of lords, clapt an old woman on the throne, searched, fortunately in vain, for the journals to burn them, obliged all the members of either house they could find to swear not to consent to an union, or vote against the interests of Ireland. Coaches were now destroyed, horses killed, and a gibbet erected for one gentleman who providentially escaped. The garrison was put under arms

to overawe the rioters, but at night they spontaneously dispersed.

To the catholics, as a distinct body of people, no blame of this riot can be ascribed, from which they were virtually exempted by the viceroy, as his gracious answer to their very first address was posterior to the disturbance. Their warm professions of loyalty was seasonable at this time, when a formidable invasion was threatened from France, between which country and England a war had commenced in 1755, occasioned by the encroachments of the former on the English colonies in North America. The grand embarkation designed against Ireland was to be made from Vannes in Lower Brittany, to cover which a fleet was fitted out at Brest under the command of M. de Conflans. A small squadron of five frigates was also equipped at Dunkirk, intended for making a descent on the north coast of Ireland, which might serve to divert the attention of the country from the great object. This squadron was commanded by an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who, in the course of the preceding year, had signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the *Belleisle*, which had scoured the north seas. Thurot's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle, than his dexterity in eluding the British cruizers. It must also be owned to his honour, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantage of birth and education, was greatly distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. His merit, of course, entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country than that he formerly possessed. Of this merit the court of Versailles at last became sensible, and entrusted him with the command of the small squadron at Dunkirk already mentioned.

War with
France.

The British government being informed of these preparations, took such measures to defeat the intended invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain, especially when it was considered, that at this very time they carried on most vigorous and important

1759.

C H A P. operations of war in Germany, America, and the East and
XIX. West Indies.

Chief in-
vasion pre-
vented.

The fleet under Conflans was blocked up in Brest harbour by the British admiral, Sir Edward Hawke, but boisterous winds having driven the British fleet off their station in the month of November, Conflans embraced the opportunity, and sailed with twenty-one large ships and four frigates. Sir Edward pursuing on the twentieth with rather a superior force, on the same day came up with the French fleet near Belleisle on the coast of Bretagne, when a desperate conflict took place, aggravated by the horrors of a storm, and rocks and shoals, which happily terminated in favour of the British fleet. Thus was the projected invasion prevented, and the naval power of France so disabled as to be unfit to undertake any object of moment during the continuance of the war.

Descent of
Thurot.

The fate of Thurot's small squadron is now to be related. Blockaded in Dunkirk, by the British force under commodore Boys they happened to get their escape made in October 1759, and Boys being unable to pursue on account of a scarcity in his fleet, was obliged to put into Leith in Scotland to procure provisions. Thurot, in the mean while, being driven by contrary winds to Gottenburg in Sweden, and thence to Bergen in Norway, at last came in sight of the northern coast of Ireland at the end of January 1760. He now attempted to make a descent near Derry, but was prevented by tempestuous weather, by which two of his vessels were separated from the rest, and were scattered different ways. Pressed by famine, his officers urged him to return to France; but he refused, declaring he would not do so without having first made some effort for the service of his country. He now proceeded with the three vessels remaining to the island of Isla, near Scotland, where they got some little refreshment, for which they paid a fair price. Thence he sailed for Carrickfergus, and on the twenty-first of February landed six hundred men about two miles from the town.

At this time four new raised companies of soldiers were stationed in the town, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who, on the first account received of the hostile

squadron, sent out a reconnoitring party, and ordered the French prisoners confined in Carrickfergus to be removed to Belfast. The officer commanding this party, having placed his men on an eminence to observe the enemy, with orders to use every effort to retard their approach, returned to communicate the necessary information to his superiors. In the mean while the fire commenced between the reconnoitring party and the French, of whom several were killed, and general Clobert, their commanding officer, wounded. This accident threw them into confusion and for some time retarded their approach. On recovering from their confusion they repelled their opponents, and proceeded towards the town, the entrances of which were defended with singular bravery by the garrison, who were obliged at last, from a failure of ammunition, to take shelter in the castle.* When their ammunition was entirely expended, they repulsed the enemy's assault on the castle with sticks and stones, even after the gates had been forced; but the fortress being quite untenable, a capitulation was found necessary. It was granted that the garrison should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed by an equal number of French prisoners being sent thither from Great Britain or Ireland, that neither the castle should be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on the French vessels being supplied with provisions. In this affair only three of his Britannic majesty's troops were slain, but of the French near a hundred, among whom were four officers. It may be supposed that many others were wounded, beside, general Cloberts their commander.

On hearing of the landing of the enemy the people from different parts of the country, having formed themselves into volunteer corps, flocked to Belfast to oppose them, but being unacquainted with discipline, and numbers of them unprovided with arms, their services would have been but of little use. However, the account of their approach, and of the defeat of Conflans, which Thurot received at the

* At the time of the conflict in the streets, a child happened to run playfully between the fire of the contending parties, which a French soldier observing carried to a place of safety, and returning to his companions renewed the combat.

C H A P. same time, obliged him to re-embark with precipitation on
XIX. the twenty-sixth of February, having laid Carrickfergus under a moderate contribution. Prevented by adverse winds from returning by the north of Ireland he was compelled to make the attempt of a passage through the channel; but he was soon stopped in his course. Commodore Elliot, in a frigate of thirty-two guns, with two others of the same size, under the command of captains Clement and Logie, a squadron inferior to Thurot's in number of guns and men, but better found, overtook him on the twenty-eighth near the Isle of Man. An engagement now commenced, which continued, for an hour and a half, until the three French frigates were taken, having lost above three hundred men killed and wounded, and the English only forty. In this action fell the brave and generous Thurot himself, whose death was lamented by his enemies. The captured vessels were brought into Ramsey bay. Such was the fate of the only armament that had for a series of years effected a landing of hostile troops in Ireland. The Irish house of commons voted their thanks to colonel Jennings, and commended the zeal of the inhabitants of the counties of Down, Antrim and Armagh, and of the city of Londonderry.

1760.
 Death of
 George II.

In the midst of a series of victories, which attended his arms in different parts of the globe, George II. died on the twenty-fifth of October, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a prince of plain, sound understanding, though not of brilliant talents, of a passionate temper, of personal intrepidity, and in his general conduct guided by honest intentions. He discovered a strong predilection for his native country, and paid a steady attention to the political interests of the Germanic body, to which he made the interests of the British empire too often subservient. Though his partialities in this point, and his frequent visits to Hanover, afforded some cause of complaint, yet agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, were, by prudent regulations, considerably increased in England, during his reign. Being in some degree obliged to part with a minister, in whom he placed the utmost confidence, he never shewed a real attachment to any other. Yet, in the choice of his last minister, Wil-

liam Pitt, under whom such brilliant exploits were performed, he was certainly very fortunate, as his popularity, which was always great, was thus much increased. The chief defect of his reign was, that he paid little or no regard to English literature, having never attained a sufficient knowledge of the language.

He was succeeded by his grandson George III, son of the late prince of Wales, who declared, in his first speech to the British parliament, “that, being born in the country, he gloried in the name of Briton, that it would be his peculiar happiness to promote the welfare, and maintain the civil and religious rights of his loving subjects, and that, as the best means to draw down the divine favour on his reign, he was determined to encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.” Such pious sentiments reflect an honour on regal dignity that neither external pomp nor splendid success can bestow.

The success attending the British arms, at the accession of the present king, was, indeed, very conspicuous. He was fortunate in ascending the throne at the time the fame of British valour resounded in every quarter of the globe. In 1762, he declared war against Spain, but, in 1763, concluded a general peace on very honourable terms. The extensive provinces of Canada, East and West Florida, and a part of Louisiana in North America, were now confirmed to Great Britain, with the islands of Granada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, in the West Indies. Previous to this event, William Pitt had been removed from the ministry, and a secret influence established, that counteracted the authority of the ostensible ministers.

In the administration of the earl of Halifax, who was appointed to the government of Ireland in 1762, the rising of the White-boys took place in the southern parts of the kingdom. It was asserted then, that they were urged on by the French and Spanish emissaries, but it seems more probable, that distress was the real cause of the disturbance. By the abolishment of the woollen manufacture in that quarter, there was, of course, less employment for the people, but even this little was diminished of late by the diminution of tillage, as more land than usual

C H A P. was laid out in grazing, owing to the articles of pasturage
XIX. giving a greater price, occasioned by a disorder in cattle that had prevailed over Germany, and at length extended to England. This was certainly an inducement for converting great quantities of land from tillage to pasture, and this inducement was increased by the vote of the house of commons against tithe agistment. These lands, being set to wealthy graziers, great numbers of labouring peasants were thus not only deprived of their habitations, but even of work. Idleness, of course, was productive of vice and disorder. Still, however, several small farms were set to cotters at rack-rents, and the landlords, in order to lighten their burdens, allowed commonage to their tenants, by way of recompense. Afterwards, in despite of their solemn engagements, they enclosed these commons, and thus deprived their poor tenants of the only means of rendering their bargains tolerable.

Provoked thus to resentment, and joined by many idlers naturally inclined to disturbance, these unhappy people assembled at night in great numbers in order to obtain a redress of grievances. They began with demolishing the fences of commons, and thence were at first called *Levellers*; but afterwards got the name of *White-boys*, from their wearing white shirts over their clothes. When their associations were regularly formed they bound themselves to one another by mutual oaths, seized horses and arms, and proceeded to a systematic execution of their designs. They houghed cattle, and committed acts of cruelty on persons considered obnoxious to them, particularly on tithe-proctors, who were the objects of their abhorrence. The landlords and graziers, by false representations, very artfully excited their resentment against persons of that description, exerting themselves to shift the odium of oppression from themselves on the established clergy, who were in many cases deprived of their pittance. These disturbers were no doubt vexed that their small spots should be subject to tithe, while the wide-extended fields of the graziers were exempt. Hence tithe-proctors, who were represented as the chief instruments in this supposed oppression, were exposed to their fury. The persons on whom they exercised

their cruelties they placed on horseback quite naked, on a saddle covered with the skins of hedge-hogs, and drove them on in that state; or they buried them up to the chin in holes lined with thorns, which they trode close to their bodies, and left them thus for many hours.

The royal troops were soon brought against these disturbers, and exerted themselves to suppress them with a suitable effect. Many suffered death by sentence of the law, and many more would have shared the same fate, if the judges had not been very scrupulous in weighing evidence, and displayed extraordinary lenity on the occasion. But it has been observed, that the White-boys were encouraged by this mistaken lenity to persevere in their enormities.*

As the persons guilty of the nocturnal excesses above mentioned were all catholics, it was thence suspected that a popish plot was formed, in which they were engaged for overturning the British government in Ireland, massacring all the protestants, and introducing the pretender, prince Charles, by the aid of the arms of France and Spain, then at war with Great Britain. Though several oaths† were produced nearly to this effect, charging some of the catholic clergy, but especially Dr Butler, the titular archbishop of Cashel, as promoting the plot, yet it does not appear that such a charge was openly confirmed before a court of justice. In parliament a motion was made, that after an inquiry into the cause of the commotion, a full report should be given, but the motion was rejected, which was rather unfortunate, for if the real disorder was known a remedy might be applied.

Soon after an insurrection took place in Ulster among protestants, whose loyalty was unimpeached, but in cause, duration, and violence, it was very different from the first one. According to act of parliament public roads were at that time made and repaired in Ireland by the compulsory labour of the people. Every housekeeper who had no horse, was obliged to work at them himself six days each year, but if he had a horse both himself and his horse for that time. Complaints were then made by the poor that

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rts of
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* Musgrave, vol. i, page 39.

† Musgrave, appendix No. 1, &c.

CHAP. many of those roads were intended for the convenience of
 XIX. individuals, not for the public advantage, and being particularly provoked at a job of this sort in the county of Armagh, the people of the parish rose up and declared they would work no more at roads of this kind. Their example was soon followed by the whole county, as also by Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. As a mark of distinction they put oaken boughs in their hats, and thence styled themselves *Hearts of Oak*. They assembled only during the day, and marching openly in large bodies forced all they met to take an oath "to be true to the king and the Hearts of Oak," but committed no murder, seized no plunder, nor used scarce any personal violence. When they got somewhat strong they did not confine themselves to their original grievances, but resolved to make a general reform. Accordingly they administrated oaths to the established clergy to demand only a certain proportion of tithe, and were proceeding to prescribe rules with respect to rents, turf-bogs, and the like, but were prevented from putting their various regulations in force by the arrival of several bodies of the military, who soon reduced them to order. Happily in this affair only two or three lives were lost, and no property injured. In the next session of parliament the original cause of the insurrection was removed, for the old road act was repealed, and a new one made, by which the necessary purpose was to be effected by an equal tax both on the lands of the poor and the rich.

Compliance of
 parliament.

This parliament, which had been summoned by the present king, the former one being dissolved, exhibited a very zealous attachment to their new sovereign. On the commencement of the war with Spain, they gave a vote of credit for five hundred thousand pounds, and granted a supply for an addition to the troops. They also requested, by an address to the King, that the lord-lieutenant's salary should be augmented to sixteen thousand pounds a-year. In every respect they shewed themselves courtly and compliant. Even after the termination of the war, they gave their countenance to an increase of the public expenses, of which, however, many of themselves reaped the advantage, for a mode was now adopted of securing a majority in parliament

by dividing places and pensions among the members and their friends. Already the annual amount of pensions had risen to eighty thousand pounds. An expenditure so great for such a purpose afforded subject for declamation to the patriots, among whom Dr Lucas was the most conspicuous, having been recalled from exile, and returned for the city of Dublin in the new parliament. The chief object of the patriots was to effectuate a change in the political constitution, and a great obstacle was removed by the death of prime Stone in 1764, the zealous supporter of the English interest in parliament.

Such were the views of the patriots, but the English government had views of a different kind, which they were equally anxious to get effected. They formed a design to break down the Irish aristocracy, by whom was engrossed the sole authority in the land. A few of these, who were often very capricious, undertook the management of parliament, and in return claimed a right to give away all places, pensions, and preferments, according to their will. From them the majority of the lord-justices were selected, and as the lord-lieutenant only resided in the country six months in two years, he could not be supposed sufficiently acquainted with the several parties to manage them with effect. It was therefore determined that in future he should be constantly resident, that being qualified to transact business himself he might recover the patronage of which he had been so long deprived. For this purpose, after a speedy succession of chief-governors, lord Townshend was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1767. He was a nobleman of high convivial qualities, which suited the peculiar habits of the country, humorous, agreeable, and remarkable for his nocturnal revels and bon mots. Sport seemed to be his chief employment, and business but a secondary consideration. Conceiving it suitable to his designs to acquire some little popularity, he gave his countenance to a public measure that had been long anxiously desired by the nation.

As Irish parliaments, which at first were annual, extended afterwards their duration for the space of the king's life, unless dissolved by royal prerogative, it was a favourite ob-

Townshend
chief go-
vernor.

1767.

Octennial
bill.

C H A P. XIX. ject with the patriots that they should become septennial, like those of Great Britain. Several attempts were made by the patriots, with Dr Lucas at their head, to effect this, but without success, which caused public discontent to be expressed in different resolutions and addresses. At length, in order to accede, as it were, to the popular opinion, heads of a bill for the limitation of parliament to seven years were, in 1768, certified by the chief-governor and privy-council, on the supposition that it would, as usual, be suppressed in England. This was not the case at present, but it was returned by the British privy-council, with the word *eight* substituted in place of seven years, in hopes that, on account of this alteration, it would be rejected by the Irish commons. In this instance, however, they were not so squeamish; the objection was overlooked, and the bill was carried by the tide of popularity through both houses. The lord-lieutenant, when going to give the royal assent, was drawn in his carriage by the populace from the castle to the parliament-house, and great joy was expressed in all parts of the kingdom.

His new
system.

In consequence of this bill, the present parliament was dissolved, and a new one called to meet in sixteen months. This unusual time was allowed that the viceroy might have full leisure to use every attempt to effect the purpose for which he was sent. Accordingly, he set to work to tamper with the new members, but found it difficult to detach the subalterns from the powerful leaders with whom they had been so long connected. Their attachment could be only dissolved by more copious streams of munificence, and hence places and pensions were dispensed with a lavish hand. The success was indeed considerable, though not complete; but the expense was enormous. Those thus deprived of influence attempted to persuade the people that the loss they had sustained was a national grievance, and hence political questions were discussed with great acrimony in the newspapers.

1769. The new parliament met in October 1769, and an incident soon took place, which showed that the viceroy had not as yet brought his plan to full maturity. Though it was required by Poyning's law that bills should originate with

the Irish privy-council, yet it was a custom, that some bills, ^{C H A P. XIX.} especially money bills, originated in parliament, and thence were sent to the Irish privy-council in order to be transmitted to England. At present a money bill, which did not originate in the commons, returned from England, but it was rejected after the first reading. On this occasion some placemen and pensioners joined the patriots, having made a bargain to have liberty to oppose the court in some questions of great importance. The viceroy, being incensed at this defeat, attempted to enter his protest in the journals of the commons, but was prevented. The lords he found more compliant, and entered his protest in their journals, though opposed by five members, who protested against his claim. In another question concerning privileges he was defeated by the commons, which caused him to prorogue the parliament after a session of only two months continuance.

A space of fourteen months now intervened till the next meeting took place, which was held in February 1771. ^{1771. Its success completed.} Of this intermediate time it appeared his excellency had taken the advantage, as he had secured by his exertions a majority for the court. The commons, after the censure they had received from the viceroy, passed an address to the king, expressing their humble thanks to his majesty for his continuance of lord Townshend in the government; but the speaker, John Ponsonby, rather than convey such thanks, resigned his place with great spirit, and was succeeded by Edmund Sexton Perry, who had formerly been a great patriot, but though converted to be a courtier, was still considered to be a man of integrity. In this and the following session, the patriots made several attempts to resist the torrent, but were borne down by the force of numbers, and, in the midst of their unavailing struggles, they were deprived, in 1771, of their incorruptible leader Dr Lucas, a man respected even by those he opposed, whose mild constitutional conduct might serve as an example to patriots in succeeding days. In the next year, 1772, lord Townshend resigned his government, after having succeeded in establishing a preponderancy of English interest, by the means already mentioned. He told the parliament in his last speech, that “ he endeavoured on every occasion to promote the public

CHAP. "service, and expressed his acknowledgment for *the very*
 XIX. "*honourable manner* they declared their entire approbation
 "of his conduct."

771-1773. During the active administration of this nobleman, another
 Hearts of insurrection took place in Ulster, which had a more durable
 Steel. effect than the last. On the expiration of the leases of an
 estate in the county of Antrim, belonging to the marquis
 of Donegal, who was then an absentee, it was proposed, that
 none of it would be set to any except to those who could
 pay large fines, with high fees to the agent. As numbers
 of the old tenants were unable to comply with these terms,
 their lands were set to others, who, in return for their fines
 and fees, demanded such rents as the old occupiers could
 not pay, and of course they were dispossessed of their lands.
 Being thus deprived of subsistence, and rendered desperate,
 they rose up at night to seek for redress; they maimed the
 cattle of those who had taken their lands, committed other
 outrages, and to show their firmness of resolution, they
 styled themselves *Hearts of Steel*. One of their number
 being taken prisoner, and confined in Belfast on a charge of
 felony, they marched to rescue him, being joined by many
 thousand peasants not connected with them, and the pri-
 soner, at the advice of a respectable physician, was deliver-
 ed up to them by the officers of the guard, to prevent the
 effusion of blood.

Such compliance gave them confidence, and numbers of
 discontented peasants in the neighbouring counties caught
 the same spirit, and assumed the same name. They admi-
 nistered oaths, seized arms, and, like the *Hearts of Oak*,
 became general reformers, but were guilty of more excesses,
 and even of violent acts of inhumanity. Some were taken
 and tried at Carrickfergus, but acquitted by the supposed
 partiality or terror of the witnesses and jury. The legisla-
 ture then interfered, and by an act of parliament they were
 ordered to be tried in counties different from those in which
 the excesses were committed. In consequence of this act,
 some were carried to Dublin, and put to trial; but so strong
 were the prejudices entertained against this law, that no
 jury of that city would find them guilty. Soon after the ob-
 noxious act was repealed, and the conduct of the insurgents

being now viewed in its just light, some of them were tried in their several counties, condemned and executed. By such examples, with suitable exertions of the military, the insurrection was totally quelled, but the general discontent was so great, that in a short time many thousand protestants emigrated to America, carrying along with them a very strong dislike to the British government, which had afterwards its due effect.

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XIX.

CHAPTER XX.

Indolence of Harcourt—Deficiency of revenue—American war—Its baneful effect on Ireland—Petitions against Irish trade—Removal of Harcourt—Indulgence to catholics—Commercial restrictions—National distress—Non-importation agreement—Dread of invasion—Volunteers—Patriotic measures of parliament—Repeal of restrictive laws—Demand of an independent legislature—Zeal of parliament abated—Resolutions of volunteers—Meeting of delegates at Dungannon—Their resolutions—Disregarded by parliament—Adopted by the nation—Change of ministry—Message of Portland—Address of Grattan—Favourite objects allowed—Reward to Grattan—Jealousy of Flood—His doubts on simple repeal—Change of public opinion—Renunciation of right—Knights of Saint Patrick—Attempt at a Genevan settlement.

THE new system in Ireland being established by the energy and perseverance of lord Townshend, his successor lord Harcourt had but few difficulties to encounter. Of an amiable character, and easy disposition, he had no other ambition than to yield a submissive obedience to the directions of his employers. The labour of office and burthen of responsibility he threw on his secretary, and seemed to give himself so little concern with politics that he allowed nearly a year to elapse before he called a parliament. This parlia-

CHAP.
XX.

1773.

Indolence
of Har-
court.

CHAP. ment he found sufficiently compliant and liberal, yet the
XX. speaker, in a speech to his excellency before the house of
 lords, expressed the public inability to submit to additional
 taxation, on account of the commercial restrictions by which
 the country was oppressed. During the present govern-
 ment an affectation appeared of correcting some abuses of
 the last administration. Hence the insurgent act was re-
 pealed, and the board of excise of their creation abolished,
 by which some saving was effected. An absentee tax was
 offered, but rejected by the influence of those who were
 particularly interested to oppose it.

Deficiency The increase of revenue which it would have afforded
of revenue. was no doubt some inducement to administration to give their
 countenance to the measure. For such an increase there
 was certainly at that time a great occasion as well in Great
 Britain as in Ireland. The injudicious mode adopted both
 by George I. and II. in expending the public money in
 foreign subsidies, ill managed wars, and parliamentary
 corruption, had a very sensible effect on the finances of the
 country. By these means the national debt of Great Bri-
 tain, which had commenced in the reign of king William,
 at the end of the reign of George II, amounted to a hun-
 dred million. After the peace which took place during the
 present reign no suitable mode was adopted for lessening
 the public expense, as the useful endeavours of the ostensi-
 ble ministers were counteracted by the baneful influence of
 favourites, whose own aggrandizement was the principal ob-
 ject of their consideration.

American As these men, during the peace, could not find sufficient
war. excuse for laying additional taxes on England, they turned
 their eyes towards British America, which might afford,
 they supposed, a suitable supply. The late war having
 been undertaken in defence of that country, it was supposed
 that it ought to bear its share of the public burden which
 had been thus produced. Hence the stamp act of 1765, by
 which the British parliament endeavoured to lay a tax on
 the American colonies, but they resisted, denying the right
 of taxation in a foreign legislature, and destroyed the stamps
 as soon as they landed from Europe. Their opposition
 caused the obnoxious act to be repealed in the succeeding
 year, but the British parliament still adhered to the resolu-

tion, either by external or internal taxation, to draw a revenue from those colonies. A great part of the British nation was induced to give their support to the measure, from the vain hope that by such a revenue their own taxes at home would be diminished. At length a tax of three-pence a pound on tea produced, in 1775, a civil war in America.

This war, which proved so detrimental to Great Britain, extended also its baneful influence to Ireland, The American market for Irish linens, which had been hitherto very considerable, was now very much restrained, and the export of provisions prevented by an embargo, an act of prerogative alone, which was laid on under pretence of depriving the rebellious colonies of subsistence, but in reality for the purpose of enabling the British contractors to fulfil their engagements. Thus the usual supply of money from abroad was precluded, while its efflux out of the kingdom was increased by augmented remittances for the pay of Irish troops employed in foreign countries, and the interest of a rising national debt, the creditors of which resided mostly in England. A part of this debt had been raised in 1773, by a scheme of annuity called *Tontine*, of which the survivors were to enjoy the benefit. The country being thus exhausted of money, its trade of course declined, the price of its internal products fell to a low rate, the usual rents and taxes could not be paid, the distressed manufacturers were supported by public charity, and government was unable to afford any aid, as the revenue failed in every branch, and they were obliged to supply the defect by new loans at an exorbitant interest.

An inclination to alleviate the distresses of Ireland seemed prevalent in the British house of commons, and accordingly, on the motion of earl Nugent, in April 1778, resolutions were passed there to the following effect, that the Irish should be permitted to export directly to the foreign plantations of Great Britain, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted, all sorts of merchandise, the produce of the British islands, and foreign goods legally imported and certified, and should be permitted to export glass to any place except Great Britain, as also to import directly,

its baneful
effect on
Ireland.

Petitions
against
Irish trade.

C H A P.
XX. except tobacco, the products of those plantations. These resolutions raised a great alarm among the mercantile people of Great Britain, who, being selfish and illiberal, sent petitions to parliament, and instructions to their representatives to oppose the extension of the Irish trade. The towns of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, distinguished themselves on this occasion ; and the representations had such influence on the majority of the members, that they ultimately rejected the bills founded on their own previous resolutions, allowing Ireland some trivial concessions unworthy of notice.

Removal
of Har-
court.

The desire of affording a connected narrative prevented an earlier notice being taken of other events. In 1776, the first octennial parliament was dissolved, having exhibited some symptoms of an independent spirit, which raised suspicions in government. This was shown in the complaint, made through the speaker, of commercial restrictions, in the rejection of two money bills altered by the British cabinet, and in the apathy with which the courtiers repelled the representations of national grievance made by the patriots in their speeches. The new parliament, which continued the same speaker, did not meet to transact business till October 1777, being under the influence of a new lord-lieutenant, lord Buckinghamshire, lord Harcourt having been removed for not carrying on with suitable energy the business assigned him by the government of Great Britain.

Indul-
gence to
catholics.

Among the first acts of this parliament worthy of notice, was one introduced by Luke Gardner, in 1778, and passed with some difficulty, in favour of the Irish catholics. By this act they were enabled to take a lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and were freed from a vexatious law by which a son might force a settlement from his father, by conforming to the protestant religion. Such an act was demanded from the liberality of the legislature, but the hopeless state of the country required measures of more essential benefit than mere acts of religious toleration.

Commer-
cial restric-
tions.

From a period so remote as the reign of Edward III. British laws were enacted favourable to the trade of Ireland, and even in her treaties with foreign princes, England

paid attention to the commercial interests of this country. C H A P.
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Hence, though great obstacles were occasioned by insurrections, her situation gradually improved, her exports, customs and shipping increased, new manufactures were established, and lands became more valuable. In the reign of Charles I. she had arrived at the height of her prosperity, at the very time it was interrupted by the unhappy rebellion which then took place. In the beginning of the succeeding reign, the British restrictive laws commenced. By these Ireland was prevented from sending her beef or live cattle to England, an advantage she had long enjoyed; prevented also from exporting her commodities to the American colonies, or importing the goods of those colonies without first unloading them in England or Wales. By the charters granted to trading companies she had been entirely excluded from Asia, and by commercial restrictions was severely cramped in her trade with every country in Europe. Towards the end of the reign of king William, the exportation of the Irish woollen manufacture was prevented by an absolute prohibition, nor was such encouragement afforded to the linen manufacture, as to make amends for the loss. These restrictive laws had their gradual and destructive effect, and the poverty of the country was augmented by the great expense of the late war, and by an oppressive peace establishment which ensued. Pensions now increased to an extravagant amount,* the revenue declined, and a national debt was contracted far exceeding that discharged, in 1754, by a delusive prosperity already noted. To these permanent disadvantages was added the particular distress occasioned by the present war with the colonists.

The refusal of the British legislature to repeal the restrictive laws so injurious to the Irish trade, excited a general discontent through the kingdom. The cause of its poverty was sufficiently evident, when it was found that the sums remitted hence to Great Britain for rents, interest of money, pensions, salaries, and profits of office, amounted, for a series of years, to twice as much as Ireland gained from her entire commerce with all the countries with which she had any intercourse. From the failure of the public

1779.
National
distress.

* The pension list greatly exceeded all the other charges of the civil list.

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revenue, the laws for the raising of a militia could not be executed, and his majesty's ministers were not only obliged to pay from the British exchequer the troops of the Irish establishment sent on foreign service in 1775, but also to remit from the same fund fifty thousand pounds to Ireland, to complete the sum necessary for the payment of the few forces allowed to remain in the country.

Non-im-
portation
agreement.

In the present exigency, meetings were held at Dublin and Waterford, to devise some mode of relief, and resolutions were entered into, which were afterwards generally adopted throughout the kingdom, not to export from Great Britain any articles, capable of being provided by industry at home, until the unreasonable restrictions were removed from the Irish commerce. Thus was employment afforded to the wretched manufacturers maintained by public charity, and Great Britain given to know the loss she might suffer by a continuance of her unjust conduct towards Ireland. But the injuries of this unhappy country were now expressed in a language so forcible as to demand a more serious attention from the sister kingdom.

Dread of
invasion.

The American colonies, in their struggle with Great Britain, being joined, in the year 1778, by the formidable power of France, Ireland of course from that time became exposed to more imminent danger. Even previously to this great accession to their force, the American privateers used to take trading vessels close to the coast of Ireland, which was not sufficiently protected by the British navy, but now when France had taken part, and was at war with Great Britain, an invasion from that country was very justly apprehended. The few troops left in Ireland were utterly inadequate to its defence, and his majesty's ministers avowed their inability to afford protection. The answer of the viceroy to a memorial from the mayor of Belfast requesting a garrison, was an open confession of the weakness of government. He declared that half a troop of dismounted horse, and half a company of invalids, was all the force that could be spared. This candid acknowledgment gave rise to an institution, one of the most glorious recorded in the annals of the world.

Volunteers

Some of the inhabitants of Belfast, a town always remark-

able for its public spirit, on perceiving themselves thus left to their own resources, entered into armed associations for defence against the foreign enemy. A few small bands of a similar kind had been previously established in the county of Wexford, to suppress the nocturnal violence of the White-boys, who had, in 1775, extended their inroads into that part of Leinster. On this model was formed the system of volunteering, when the danger of invasion excited great alarm. From Belfast was diffused the same spirit through different parts of the kingdom, and in a short time volunteer companies arose in various places, who chose their own officers, purchased their own arms and uniform, and, with the assistance of persons properly qualified, assembled regularly at parade to acquire a knowledge of the military art. Such was the origin of the volunteers of Ireland, a patriotic band which conferred such eminent services on their oppressed country.

Every day brought a new accession to their strength. Men of the first consequence in the kingdom were proud of being enrolled in their number, and many persons of independent fortune considered it an honour to appear in their ranks. Even persons in the most straitened circumstances cheerfully submitted to many privations, in order to afford the expense and time necessary to clothe themselves, and to learn the use of arms. Though subject to no controul but inclination, they were perfectly obedient to discipline, and were remarkable for their sobriety and decent demeanour; they restrained the irregular, suppressed disorders, and carefully maintained the due execution of the laws. Their conduct was so unexceptionable, and the institution itself so expedient, that government at first lent them their countenance, giving orders to have sixteen thousand muskets delivered to the volunteers for the defence of their country. In 1779 Spain having joined the hostile confederacy, the combined fleet, under the count D'Orvilliers, consisting of sixty-five ships of the line, with a multitude of smaller vessels, in August of that year, entered the British Channel, and insulted the English coasts with impunity. At that awful time Ireland was prevented from invasion, with all its dismal effects, by her volunteers, whose

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1779

1779.
Patriotic
measures
of parlia-
ment.

number now amounted to forty thousand. Thus, by their exertions was the country preserved from a foreign foe, and its internal tranquillity maintained, as at no other time the laws were so strictly enforced and obeyed.

Though this armed body of citizens had not as yet publicly expressed their sentiments on the state of the country, yet, these sentiments, being the same with those of the whole nation, were universally known, and had a suitable effect on the Irish parliament, which met on the twelfth of October. Immediately an interesting debate took place in the commons, in which the distresses of Ireland were placed in a striking point of view, and the necessity urged of adopting, without delay, some effectual mode for obtaining relief. At length, on the motion of the prime-sergeant, Hussey Burgh, a man of real patriotism, and persuasive eloquence, it was unanimously resolved, that the following words should be inserted in their address to the king, “we beg leave, however, humbly to represent to your majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” This address was carried by the speaker, in great state, to the lord-lieutenant, between ranks of the Dublin volunteers, commanded by the duke of Leinster, in their arms and uniform, who lined the streets on both sides from the parliament-house to the castle. To all the volunteers the thanks of both lords and commons were voted for their spirited exertions in the time of need in defence of their country. Both houses seemed now animated by a patriotic zeal, and the commons, apprehensive that if the money bills were passed for the usual time, or two years, a redress of grievances might be neglected, being urged by the public voice, granted the supplies for only six months. They also pointed out the nature of the commercial privileges which they expected should be conferred, and declared that the granting of new taxes would at this time be inexpedient.

Repeal of
restrictive
law.

The declaration of the Irish parliament, the short money bill, the non-importation agreement, and the spirited determinations of the volunteers, had their due effect on the government and people of England. Accordingly, the

prime-minister lord North, in the month of November of the present year, laid before the British commons his propositions for restoring freedom to the Irish commerce. On this occasion he displayed great liberality and knowledge of the subject, and gave an interesting history of the commercial restrictions of which Ireland so much complained. The object of his propositions was to repeal the laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish woollen or other manufactures to foreign places, and to permit Ireland to trade with the British settlements in America, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa, subject to such regulations and restrictions as should be imposed by the Irish parliament. No opposition was given on moving these propositions, and bills exactly conformable to them were introduced and passed into laws.

The account of these concessions diffused great joy through Ireland, but this joy was only temporary, as a general distrust prevailed of the English parliament, and an opinion daily gained ground, that the free trade allowed would be always precarious, unless the legislature of the country was entirely independent of that of Great Britain. This opinion began to be expressed in such a manner as to excite more serious attention. In the begining of the year 1780 the volunteers entered on the plan of general organization; they appointed reviews for the ensuing summer, and chose their exercising officers and reviewing generals. Hence a foundation was laid for producing an union of sentiment among them. They now ventured openly to declare their opinions on public affairs, and the newspapers teemed with resolutions of the different corps, all to the same effect, "That Ireland was an independent kingdom, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of a free constitution, that no power on earth but the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind them, and that they were ready with their lives and fortunes to resist the usurpations and encroachments of any foreign legislature." The American war, with the cause and various events of it, contributed to give them boldness to publish such a declaration.

Such opinions were expressed by public assemblies of

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Zeal of
parliament
abated.

every description and were re-echoed by the patriotic members of the house of commons. In April, Henry Grattan, a senator distinguished for his eloquence, and respected for his patriotism, made a motion in the house, *that no power on earth, save the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, has a right to make laws for Ireland.* A very interesting debate now succeeded, which lasted till six o'clock in the morning, when the motion was withdrawn, on the well grounded assurance, that a ministerial majority stood engaged to reject it. Through gratitude for commercial indulgencies, the commons voted the supplies for eighteen months longer, and made provision for borrowing six hundred and ten thousand pounds, and for allowing an increase of revenue to the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. With this liberality the people were not offended, but they had other reasons to be dissatisfied with the parliament.

Beside their strenuous opposition to the motion of Henry Grattan, they showed a disposition to give up their own privileges to the will of the minister. The Irish army had been hitherto regulated by an English act of parliament, but, in complianee with the general opinion, a mutiny bill was introduced into our own parliament, and passed, which, on being transmitted to England, was altered in the British cabinet, and made perpetual. Hence this bill, which made the army independent of parliament, was different from that of England, which was only for a limited time, and was more suitable to the spirit of a free constitution. To this bill, thus altered, the Irish parliament tamely submitted, and passed it into a law. They also submitted to a sugar bill, altered by the same cabinet in such a manner as to be injurious to the commercial rights of Ireland. These obnoxious bills they passed, and rejected two very much desired by the people, one for the modification of Poyning's law, which had now become injurious to civil liberty, and another for having the judges made independent of the crown. The session was prolonged till September, and, previous to its conclusion, the lord-lieutenant was addressed in a very adulatory style by the commons, to which he made a suitable return in his speech to both houses, extolling

them for their patriotic virtue, and for the attention they paid to the interests of the country.

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The people, however, did not entertain so favourable an opinion of their conduct, and many resolutions of disapprobation were published, especially by the volunteers corps, either separately or collectively at their reviews during the summer. At these reviews they discovered as much knowledge of military discipline as could be expected from persons of their description, and both on their way, and at the places where they were reviewed, they were entertained at free quarters by the people, who were sensible of their merits, and delighted with the novelty of their appearance.

Resolu-
tions of
volunteers.

The volunteers having arrived at their present degree of force under the administration of the earl of Buckinghamshire, it was imagined by the British cabinet that he had too passively permitted their increase, and therefore he was removed from the government at the end of the year 1780. He was succeeded by the earl of Carlisle, who, it was expected, would be able to check the dangerous spirit that prevailed. In this, however, the government were disappointed, as the armed societies continued to increase, and in the year 1781 amounted to fifty thousand men, formed into regiments, and improved in tactics by reviews. At one of these was collected at Belfast, a body of five thousand four hundred men, furnished with a train of thirteen pieces of artillery. In their resolutions on these occasions, and addresses to their reviewing-generals, an ardent zeal for liberty was displayed, and discontent expressed at the corruption of parliament and measures of government. However, on a trying emergency, they showed their attachment, by offering their services to the new viceroy in August 1781, when the hostile fleet was in the channel, and an invasion from France and Spain apprehended. Still they never lost sight of the great object that had successively risen to their view, a free commerce, and, as a security for it, a free parliament. They all, indeed, seemed animated by the same spirit, but on an important occasion, attended with remarkable effects, the officers of the southern battalion of the Armagh regiment, commanded by the earl of Charlemont, happened to take the lead. At a meeting of these, on the twenty-

1781.

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XX. voted unanimously, and published in the newspapers, calling on all the volunteer associations in Ulster to send delegates to Dungannon, a central town, on the fifteenth of February, 1782, to deliberate on the present state of public affairs.

Meeting of
delegates
at Dungan-
non.

These resolutions excited very extraordinary sensations in every part of the kingdom. Government, in particular, took the alarm, and exerted themselves to prevent the intended meeting of delegates, but without effect. Even the best friends of the object were apprehensive of its consequences, and among these was the earl of Charlemont himself, who, as the time approached, began to wish it had not been called. This amiable and truly patriotic nobleman, being now unable to prevent it, digested resolutions and proceedings for this formidable assembly, with the assistance, among other friends, of the two great orators of the commons, Henry Flood and Henry Grattan, who co-operated in their endeavours to serve their country. When the fifteenth of February arrived, the representatives of a hundred and forty three companies met at Dungannon.

Their reso-
lutions.

The resolutions voted on this occasion, to some of which there were a few dissenting voices, expressed their disapprobation of any body of men, making laws to bind Ireland, except the king, lords, and commons of this kingdom; of the powers exercised by the English and Irish privy council, under pretence of Poynings' law; of a mutiny bill not limited in duration; and of the judges not being independent of the crown. A resolution was also voted, with only two dissenting voices, declaring their consent to the relaxation of the penal laws, against Roman catholics, for which a bill was at that time pending. They appointed a mode of communication with the other volunteers of the kingdom, in order that the general opinion should be combined, and voted a very spirited address to the minority of both houses of parliament, in which the following remarkable sentence was introduced, "we know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal; we know our duty to ourselves; and are resolved to be free."

The moderate conduct of the delegates on this occasion,

obtained for them great applause, and disappointed the ex-
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 pectations of government, who hoped that their violence
 would defeat their object. Already had both houses of
 Disregard-
 parliament voted their thanks to the volunteers, and at the
 liament.
 beginning of the present sessions, which commenced in Oc-
 tober 1781, these thanks were repeated on account of their
 spirited offer of service, when an invasion was apprehended
 in the summer. Yet the Dungannon resolutions seemed to
 have no influence on the parliament, who continued steady
 in their support of the ministry. Hence the several con-
 stitutional questions, of which these resolutions took notice,
 being again discussed before that assembly, the minister,
 as usual, obtained a complete victory. In a debate, on one
 of these occasions, a member in the service of government,
 who filled a high department in the law, in a speech on the
 acts imposed on Ireland by England, boldly asserted, " that
 " power constituted right." Also a motion was rejected, de-
 claring, that the commons were the representatives of the
 people, from which might be inferred, that they considered
 their connexion with their constituents dissolved.

Such a shameful disregard to the national will excited
 Adopted
 a general discontent, as well against government, as the re-
 by the na-
 tion.
 presentatives in parliament, and the people, considering
 themselves deserted by these, looked only to the volunteers
 for redress. The resolutions of Dungannon were adopted
 by the volunteers of every province throughout the king-
 dom, as was publicly signified in the newspapers, and those
 who had been friends to government, or hitherto lukewarm
 in the cause, being borne down by the torrent, stood bold-
 ly forward as zealous champions for the constitutional rights
 of their country. Not only by volunteer corps, were such
 patriotic sentiments expressed, but by counties, grand ju-
 ries, cities, towns, corporations, parishes, all ranks and de-
 grees of men, who openly declared, that they would obey
 no laws but such as were enacted by the king, lords, and
 commons of Ireland. A more universal concurrence of
 opinion in favour of liberty, is not to be found in the his-
 tory of any nation of the world. The attainment of the
 object of their desire was, however, accelerated by another
 cause.

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Change of
ministry.

The powerful aid of France proved of singular advantage to the American colonists, in their contest with the mother country, and the capture of lord Cornwallis by the combined armies, in 1781, secured the independence of America. This decided success effected at length the removal of the British ministry, who resigned their situations in 1782, after having, by their rash councils, deprived Great Britain of its flourishing colonies, sacrificed the lives of a hundred thousand loyal subjects, and added at least a hundred million to the national debt of England. They were succeeded by men of more liberal principles, at the head of whom was placed the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman of more political integrity than is usually found in modern times. As successor to lord Carlisle, the duke of Portland was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Message of
Portland

This nobleman arrived in Ireland in April 1782, and soon after sent the following message to parliament, “ that
“ his majesty being concerned to find, that discontents and
“ jealousies prevailed among his loyal subjects of Ireland,
“ upon matters of great weight and importance, recommended
“ it to parliament to take the same into their serious consideration, in order to come to such a final adjustment, as
“ would afford mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great
“ Britain and Ireland.”

Address of
Grattan.

Henry Grattan now rose to move an address to the king, similar to one which he had before proposed in vain. In his prefatory speech, he pronounced a just eulogy on the volunteers, and boldly asserted the constitutional rights of his country. The address expressed the unshaken attachment of the commons to his majesty's person and government, and their sense of his paternal care on the present occasion; declared that the crown of Ireland was an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain; but that the kingdom of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, and that no body of men, nor any other parliament, was competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; expressed their dissatisfaction with the British act, for the *better securing the dependence of Ireland*, with Poyning's law in its present form, and with the perpetual mu-

tiny bill; assured his majesty of the high respect they entertained for the British character, of the confident hope they had of sharing with England in her freedom, by their being determined to share also her fate, and to stand and fall with the British nation.

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In the present instance, a surprising versatility of principle was exhibited by the majority of the house of commons. Though they had constantly opposed the patriots, in their endeavours to attain constitutional liberty, yet on a change of administration, they all at once became converts to their opinions, and found out at last, that the preservation of the country depended on the system of the patriots being carried into effect. Accordingly, the resolution for an address passed unanimously. On this occasion, however, the ministerial members of independent fortune laboured hard to clear themselves from the charge of inconsistency, and endeavoured to show how *incapable* they were of being influenced in their parliamentary conduct by place or emolument. John Hely Hutcheson, secretary of state, and provost of Trinity college,* who delivered the message from the duke of Portland, made a splendid eulogium on Grattan, whom he knew to be a favourite of the present administration, declaring, that he would be considered by posterity to have redeemed the liberties of his country. His speech seemed to glow with patriotic fire, as did that of John Fitzgibbon, the prime serjeant, both of whom defied any one to prove that they ever asserted the supremacy of the British parliament, though they acknowledged they voted with ministers against the declaration of rights, on account of the impropriety of moving it at the time, a pretence usually offered by such people to justify their conduct.

The viceroy soon after informed both houses that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontent, and that his majesty was graciously disposed to give the royal assent to acts intended to afford them satisfaction. Of course the following con-

Favourite
objects at-
tained.

* This gentleman was fortunate in obtaining for his services to government, beside the different valuable places conferred on himself, lucrative employments for several of his family.

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stitutional acts were passed: one for preventing the privy councils to alter Irish bills, another for the limitation of the law against mutiny to two years, a third for the right of habeas corpus, and a fourth for the independence of the judges. The British parliament also agreed to repeal the obnoxious act passed in the sixth of George I. claiming a right to bind Ireland, and depriving the Irish house of lords of a supreme judicial power in their own country. Ireland appeared to be completely emancipated, and to have obtained a constitution equal to that of her great sister island so renowned for her liberty.

Reward to
Grattan.

In gratitude for the excellent favours conferred, the commons, on the motion of Grattan, voted a hundred thousand pounds for the purpose of raising twenty thousand seamen for the British navy. They also, on the motion of Beauchamp Bagenal, voted fifty thousand pounds as a present to Grattan himself for his strenuous endeavours towards the accomplishment of the great political blessing attained. Complimentary addresses now poured on Mr Grattan from all quarters, extolling him for his eminent services, and at this time he was certainly an object both of admiration and envy. Government would have conferred on him any office, however lucrative, that he would please to accept, but he disdained to take any emolument, save the reward offered to him by a grateful country.

Jealousy of
Flood.

The patriotic exertions of his rival orator, Henry Flood, obtained a very different reward. Immediately on his standing forward, during the late administration, in support of the constitutional rights of his country, he was deprived of his place of vice-treasurer, which he had held for seven years, the most lucrative office in the power of the Irish government to bestow. Offended at the loss he had sustained, the vote of the commons in gratitude to Mr Grattan raised a jealousy in his breast, which certainly tarnished his most patriotic efforts. This jealousy was soon shown by one of his friends in the house of commons giving notice, that he would move for his restoration to the office of which he had been deprived, not that he should get any pecuniary reward, as he knew he was above receiving any alms from his country.

However, the material difference of opinion between Grattan and Flood arose from the nature of the security which the country had obtained by the English parliament repealing the sixth of George I, which claimed a right to bind Ireland. The former insisted, that since the act mentioned the right, repealing the act was in reality disavowing the right, especially as no previous act existed laying a positive claim to such a right. The latter argued that as the act was a declaratory act, the simple repeal of it only repealed the declaration, but left the claim still remaining; that the very title of the act, a law for better securing the dependence of Ireland, inferred the existence of a previous claim, which was asserted by some eminent English lawyers, and that this assumed right had been exercised in different British acts, which were still unrepealed. He therefore inferred that nothing less than an express renunciation by the British parliament of all right to legislate for Ireland would afford sufficient security to the nation. The great contest on this point between these rival patriots took place on Mr Flood's proposing to bring in a bill declaratory of the exclusive right of the Irish parliament, on which occasion he defended his position by supereminent power both of argument and eloquence. His force of reasoning, however, did not make a suitable impression on the house, as, on a division, only six members were found to support his motion. Soon after this famous parliament was prorogued, having passed, to satisfy the presbyterians, the repeal of the sacramental test, and two acts in favour of the catholics, empowering them to purchase lands in fee-simple, removing some penalties from their clergy on taking the oath of allegiance, and allowing catholics, under a few restrictions, to educate youth, and to be guardians to children.

Previous to the prorogation, the volunteers of the several provinces, who took an active part in all political subjects, had meetings to discuss the question of renunciation and simple repeal. Those of Leinster, Ulster and Connaught met and expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the present security afforded, and passed addresses to his majesty to that effect. Those of Munster met, but did nothing. However, the powerful arguments of Flood, who was

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His doubts
on simple
repeal.

July 27,
1782.

Change of
public opi-
nion.

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XX. at first supported by so few, began rapidly to make converts to his opinion. These were increased by the expression of a member of the English house of lords, claiming external legislation, and by the equivocal conduct of an English judge. The Belfast first company of volunteers, at a great review, ventured first to declare themselves dissatisfied with the present security, and their arguments were soon after strengthened by the powerful authority of the lawyer's corps. The public discontent now became general, and afforded great alarm to government.

Renuncia-
tion of
right.

In the mean while, by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, the English ministry was changed, and earl Temple being appointed lord-lieutenant in the place of the duke of Portland, arrived in September 1782. Under the sanction of this nobleman, and his friends in administration, a bill was introduced into the British parliament, which, to their honour, passed unanimously, in January 1783, "for removing and preventing all doubts concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature," &c. This bill renounced all claim of the British parliament over this country, and in this point afforded complete satisfaction to the people. Thus, by the laudable exertions of the Irish volunteers, and the nation in general, was the great object so much desired at length attained. On this account the earl of Temple's administration was very popular, and also on account of the economical reforms he made in the different offices of the castle, which were certainly disagreeable to those who derived benefit from the abuses.

Under the auspices of this chief governor a new order of knighthood was instituted, entitled the *illustrious order of Saint Patrick*, with an intent to afford the Irish some gratification, by giving them a mark of national consequence. Of this order the king was appointed sovereign, the viceroy grand-master, and the archbishop of Durham chancellor. The ceremony of installation was performed with great magnificence on the seventeenth of March 1783, the festival of the tutelar saint of Ireland.

It was the laudable intention of government at this time to encourage some emigrants of the popular party from the

little republic of Geneva, who were disgusted with the preponderance of the aristocratic faction in their own country. CHAP.
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A track of land in the county of Waterford, near the united stream of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, which was soon to revert to the crown, was intended for their accommodation, and fifty thousand pounds were ordered from the treasury for the purpose of forwarding the scheme, and building a town on the spot, to be called New Geneva. The residence of this protestant colony of skilful artisans, it was supposed, would be of advantage to the country; but as these emigrants insisted, both on being represented in parliament, and being governed by their own laws, the treaty was interrupted, and the intended settlement never took place. Some, indeed, came over, but they thought so little of their new situation, that the most of them, in a short time, left the kingdom.

Attempt at
a Genevan
settlement.

CHAPTER XXI.

New object of volunteers—Meetings on reform—Coalition—New parliament—National convention—Resentment of parliament—Conduct of convention—Earl of Bristol—Pitt prime-minister—Protecting duties rejected—Violence of the mob—Call of congress—Attempts to prevent it—Diversity of opinions—Meeting of congress—Commercial propositions—Right-boys—Death of Rutland—Discovery of frauds by Buckingham—Disputes on the regency—Inconsistency of parliament—Extravagance of Buckingham—Same measures pursued—Celebration of French revolution—United Irishmen—National guards—Their suppression—Manifesto of united Irishmen—Catholic committee—Convention—Elective franchise obtained—Popular bills—Gunpowder and convention bill—War with France—Militia bill—Defenders, &c.—Attempts at reform renewed—Seditious persons obliged to fly—Fitzwilliam viceroy—Disappointment at his removal.

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XXI.

New ob-
ject of vo-
lunteers.

THE success of the American colonists in their contest with the mother country obtained for them the acknowledgment of their independence from the British court, in a treaty of peace, which was concluded in the beginning of the year 1783. During the continuance of the contest the Irish people and volunteers considered their situation similar to that of those colonists, and Great Britain, being busily engaged with America and her allies, found it expedient to gratify the inclinations of Ireland. On the conclusion of the general peace, the same necessity no longer existed, but the Irish volunteers, without seeming to reflect on this, were unwilling to give up the consequence they had acquired by interfering with political subjects, and dictating both to the

parliament and government. After obtaining the emancipation of the Irish legislature, they now turned their attention to a new object, to which they were indeed excited by the example of some very eminent men in England, the accomplishment of a more equal representation of the people in parliament. This is termed a parliamentary reform, for which there was certainly far more occasion in Great Britain than in Ireland, the condition of which country differs materially from that of the other.

The first military assembly of any consequence to discuss this business took place at Lisburn, when the delegates of forty-five volunteer companies of Ulster met on the first of July, to deliberate on measures for a parliamentary reform. A committee was now appointed for corresponding with other societies, and an address passed to all the volunteers in Ulster, requesting them to appoint delegates to meet at Dungannon on the eighth of September, in order to consult on the same subject with the present meeting. In compliance with this request, the provincial assembly was convened at the time and place appointed. The delegates, amounting to five hundred, and representing two hundred and seventy-two companies, passed a variety of resolutions with respect to parliamentary reform, pointing out the defects of the present mode, and electing five persons to represent each county in a national convention appointed to be held in Dublin on the tenth of November, to which, by an urgent address, they entreated the volunteers of the other provinces to send also their delegates. The resolutions and address of the Dungannon meeting, having appeared in the newspapers, excited a general fermentation, and the representatives of the volunteers in each county were, in due time, publicly convened, to appoint delegates for the grand national convention.

Previous to these proceedings another change of ministry had taken place in England, which, of course, had the usual effect on this country. This change was caused by the unexpected coalition of the famous Charles James Fox with his political antagonist lord North, for whom he was accustomed to express a great abhorrence, declaring, in open parliament, "that he would pursue him even to the

C H A P. “scaffold, the author of the public ruin.” But politicians
XXI. take the advice of scripture, not to let their animosity be of long duration, especially when the expectation of power and place induces them to forgive their enemies.

New parliament.

In consequence of the change above mentioned, earl Temple, whose plan of economy had gained him great applause, was too soon removed from the government, and succeeded by the earl of Northington, who arrived in June 1783 ; and in a short time after dissolved the parliament. The new parliament met, according to proclamation, on the fourteenth of October, and unanimously chose Edmund Sexten Perry their speaker. The lord-lieutenant, in his speech, recommended the usual objects to their consideration, and, in particular, expressed the satisfaction he felt on meeting them in the full possession and enjoyment of their constitutional and commercial advantages, which had been so firmly established in the last parliament ; at the same time congratulating them on their happy restoration to the blessings of peace, which would naturally give spirit and effect to their commercial pursuits.

After the customary proceedings of addresses and the like had been completed, Mr Grattan called the attention of the house to a very melancholy event, the death of Walter Hussey Burgh, who had been made chief baron of the exchequer, and died at Armagh of a fever which he had caught on circuit. Several members expressed their sorrow on the occasion, and pronounced a eulogium on the high character of that excellent man. It was mentioned, that he had four daughters and one son, all unprovided for, and that his many virtues and public services demanded that his children should be made the children of the public ; of course Grattan's motion passed unanimously, that an address should be presented to his majesty to make a suitable provision for them.

The jealousy that arose between this gentleman and his rival Flood, and was daily increasing, at length, in a few days after, broke out into an open quarrel in the house. On this occasion, much intemperate language and virulent abuse was mutually dealt, of which the recital would be inconsistent with the present sketch. On the subject of this

dispute, Flood had several addresses presented to him from C H A P.
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volunteer corps, condemning his opponent for making an unprovoked attack on him, and in the house of commons they took opposite sides on a question of military retrenchment, and others of a similar nature; but while Flood was employed in combating his great rival in parliament, he was called upon to display his abilities in another scene.

On the tenth day of November 1783, the delegates of the National
convention.
volunteer army of Ireland, amounting to a hundred and eighty, met in the Royal Exchange in Dublin, and proceeded in regular order with their hats off, between ranks of armed volunteers, to the Rotunda, a space of about half a mile. The earl of Charlemont was called to the chair, and, after mature discussion, they at last fixed on a plan of reform, and entered into a variety of resolutions, expressive of their sentiments on the subject. It was determined, that the counties should continue nearly as they were, but that the right of voting for boroughs should be extended, if necessary, to the protestant inhabitants of the neighbouring barony or baronies. A variety of precautions were adopted in order to prevent, if possible, parliamentary corruption. It was now determined by the convention, that their plan of reform should be presented by colonel Flood to the house of commons, and this gentleman, previous to his setting out for that purpose, moved, "that the convention should not adjourn till the fate of his motion was ascertained."

Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth, being dressed in his Resent-
ment of
parliament.
volunteer uniform, he brought the above plan to the house, and, after a short preface, moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for effecting a more equal representation of the people in parliament. His motion was opposed by the friends of government, and especially, with great vehemence, by the attorney-general, Barry Yelverton, who declared, that the bill, having originated with an armed body of men, carried an insult to the house, and should be rejected. He said, he respected the volunteers as long as they confined themselves to their first line of conduct, but when they turned into a debating society, to reform the parliament, and regulate the kingdom, the question is reduced to this,

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whether the convention or the parliament of Ireland should deliberate on the affairs of the nation? He said he would advise the volunteers, after having obtained constitution and commerce to their country, to be content with these benefits, and would recommend them, instead of dictating to the legislature of the kingdom, to go to their homes, change their clothes, and turn their swords into plough-shares. In reply, Mr Flood observed, that it was a hard case, that a plan of reform should be rejected because agreeable to the volunteers; that the motion was introduced by him, and his coadjutor, Mr Brownlow, as members of parliament, and not as volunteers; that he had not even mentioned their name, but that, if they were aspersed, he would defend their conduct against all the world. During the course of the debate, which was very warm, and continued till three o'clock next morning, Henry Grattan declared, that he was a decided friend to parliamentary reform, and that he could see no impropriety in having the idea of parliament and volunteers blended together, as they had already concurred in establishing the constitution, and might, he hoped, by their joint efforts, perfect the work they had begun. On a division, the motion was rejected by a majority of 109.* A resolution was then passed, that the house would support its rights and privileges against all encroachments; and an address was voted to the king, in which the lords concurred, assuring his majesty, that they were determined to support inviolate the present constitution with their lives and fortunes.

Conduct of convention. On the first of December colonel Flood informed the convention, that his bill, under pretence of its originating with them, was rejected by the house of commons, without its introduction being even allowed, which was wholly unprecedented. On this a variety of inflammatory resolutions were proposed, which were quashed, and others of a more moderate tendency substituted in their place. On the next day an address was passed to the king, setting forth the former services of the volunteers, and imploring his majesty, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions

* Ayes 49.—Noes 158.

in the parliamentary representation, moderately remedied by the legislature, might not be ascribed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, and perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms. This address colonel Flood, at the request of the convention, consented to present to his majesty, and then the convention was adjourned *sine die*. C H A P.
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Thus peaceably terminated the exertions of this great military national convention, which at first had excited such alarm to government, that a privy council was summoned to consider on the propriety of arresting both the chairman and secretary of the meeting. This scheme was, however, abandoned as unnecessary, from the well-grounded confidence the government had in their own power, and the firm resistance which the parliament would make to the demands of the convention; a resistance which the democratic members of that military assembly had not probably expected, and of course were not prepared to counteract. Besides, men of reflection among the volunteers began at last to perceive, that Great Britain, being disengaged from foreign wars, was enabled to direct all her force to one quarter, and crush all at once any attempt they should make to obtain their object by compulsion. Their cause also became weaker, by their not admitting the catholics into their scheme of reform, who constituted such a great majority of the people; nor had they universally the confidence of the Irish protestants, many of whom thought the advantages enjoyed from the constitution in its present form of too great consequence to admit of trying experiments by which these advantages might have been lost, and the remedy made worse than the disease, for while the people were so corrupt, and so much influenced by their private interests, and peculiar prejudices, it was very doubtful whether it would have been safe to have trusted too much power in their hands. The volunteer system was also at this time become somewhat weaker, by ministry having raised fencible regiments, and detached from the common cause the commanders of volunteer companies by pecuniary inducements. Of course the convention, for all these reasons, was not so dangerous an assembly as might be apprehended.

CHAP
XXI.Earl of
Bristol.

Among those who distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner on the present occasion, was the earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry. He was appointed a delegate to the last Dunganannon meeting, to which he was escorted by the Derry troop of horse, and received the unanimous thanks of that assembly. He was also appointed a delegate to the grand national convention, and had additional honours conferred on him, being attended by the same troop of horse as before, and complimented, on account of his extraordinary patriotism, with presented arms by the volunteers of every town he passed through in his way to Dublin. During his continuance in that city he refused to enter the house of lords, observing that he *could not serve God and Mammon*. On colonel Flood's informing the convention of the reception he met with in the house of commons, it was the bishop who proposed the inflammatory resolutions that were quashed. On the dissolution of that assembly his lordship of course returned home escorted by his usual lifeguards. Addresses now poured in on him from every quarter of the kingdom, extolling his public and private virtues. This exuberance of applause seemed to fill him with a laudable exultation, as appeared by his answers, which were diversified by a surprising variety of language. In these he told them candidly, that he was conscious of deserving the praises he received, and declared that all the powers of the universe would be unable to shake his principles, which rested, he assured them, on a foundation as firm as the rock on which his cathedral was built. "They may annihilate," said he, "but they cannot stagger me." In the mean while he raised many new companies at his own expense, and in one of his answers to the volunteers, applied the following appropriate words of the poet

— Immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum.

His clergy, who no doubt thought it for their interest to humour him, seemed to be animated with the same military spirit as their bishop. The recruits for the new companies were desired, by a public advertisement, to show themselves to certain of these who were appointed to inspect them.

Having thus far accompanied this military prelate in his patriotic career, it may be necessary to take notice of some public transactions that had previously occurred. At the beginning of the session a resolution was passed, requiring that for the future a session of parliament should be held every year; and some time after another one, allowing the lord-lieutenant four thousand pounds a-year additional salary. This sum lord Northington would not accept, but his successor did not think himself bound in honour to refuse it. Different retrenchments-both in civil and military appointments, were, under the auspices of government, on the point of being taken into consideration by parliament, but while affairs were in this situation intelligence arrived, before the Christmas recess, that, on account of the unpopularity of the India bill, Charles Fox with his friends were dismissed from office, and William Pitt, son of the late famous earl of Chatham, with his party, substituted in his place. Lord Northington, the lord-lieutenant, of course prepared for his departure, of whom it is but justice to own, that there were no mean jobs, or scandalous profusion, during his short administration.

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XXI.
Pitt prime
minister.

Towards the end of February 1784, his successor, the duke of Rutland, arrived, who made no material change of the public officers of government, as these gentlemen generally possess a happy compliance of principle, and yield to the prevailing current of English politics. The advancement of William Pitt to the office of prime minister, appeared auspicious for the attainment of parliamentary reform in Ireland, as that gentleman had distinguished himself as a zealous advocate for it in England. Accordingly, Henry Flood, being supported by several petitions, made a motion in the house of commons, on the tenth of March, for leave to bring in a bill for effecting a more equal representation of the people in parliament. On this occasion he was treated with more respect, being allowed to bring in the bill, but on the first reading it was rejected by a great majority.*

1784

These repeated disappointments with respect to this favourite object produced in different persons a greater or

C H A P. less degree of resentment, according to their different hu-
XXI. mours. However, many severe invectives were about this
 time published against government, which were sharpened
 by some incidents that naturally fall in here.

Protecting
 duties re-
 jected.

The free trade granted to the Irish nation was not as yet attended with all those advantages that the ardent imaginations of the people had expected. Severe indigence prevailed in many parts, but especially among the labouring woollen manufacturers of Dublin, who made loud complaints of the distresses they endured from want of employment. It was observed, that while the manufactures and commodities of England were subject to a trifling charge on importation into Ireland, her own manufactures, one only excepted, that of linen, were by excessive duties in a manner prohibited from entering the English ports. It was strenuously urged, that protecting duties were necessary to foster the infant manufactures, and oblige the inhabitants to consume those goods which native ingenuity and industry would produce. In conformity to this opinion Luke Gardner, member for the county of Dublin, towards the end of the session introduced resolutions towards effecting that purpose, but they were opposed with great vehemence. The chief argument produced against it was, that it would be ungrateful to thwart England by such regulations, after the liberality she had lately displayed towards Ireland, and also inpolitic, as it might cause her to lay a similar duty on Irish linens, the exports of which to that country was supposed to exceed in value all the goods imported thence. Several persons, it was owned, especially the honourable mover, on whose estate woollen manufacturers reside, might be served by such a bill, but it would be unjust to enrich a few individuals at the expense of all Ulster and Connaught. The resolutions were of course rejected by a vast majority.

One of the principal opposers of the system of protecting duties was John Foster, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had always paid a particular attention to the agriculture and trade of Ireland, and at that time framed a bill for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, which has since been of infinite advantage to the country. His conduct on this occasion made him extremely obnoxious to the oppo-

site party, who hired news-writers to abuse him in the public papers. In the Volunteer's Journal, that gentleman, who was a real friend to his country, was exhibited in a picture hanging on a gallows, and all that low scurrility was applied to him, which dulness, excited by malice, is accustomed to substitute in the place of true wit and genuine satire. The printer, one Carey, who afterwards went to America, was summoned before the house of commons, and ordered to be confined in Newgate. While he was in the custody of the deputy-serjeant at arms, he grossly abused that officer, calling him *a rascal, and the tool of a venal parliament*. His journal, during his confinement, was as violent as ever. One day a letter of his to his paragraph-writer was intercepted, in which he said, "that persecution was often the lot of those who laboured in the best of causes, and begged he would insert in the next journal a whole column of *nervous paragraphs*."

On account of the odium thus excited against him, Mr Foster found it expedient to apply for a body of soldiers to guard his house, and attend him to parliament. Enraged at these public defamers, he had a bill passed *for securing the liberty of the press*, which required all printers and proprietors of newspapers to give in their names to the stamp-office upon oath, and also enacted, that any one carrying about a hand-bill unstamped, containing a libel, and refusing to tell the printer's name, should, if convicted, be confined three months in jail. On the fourteenth of May it got the royal assent, when parliament was prorogued, and Carey, of course, dismissed.

This bill, which at first was much more severe, but afterwards moulded into its present form, was still considered as a restriction on the liberty of the press. It therefore contributed, with the loss of protecting duties, to enrage the Liberty-mob of Dublin, sharpened by hunger, and pushed on by factious demagogues. These desperadoes, about the beginning of May, began to exercise their violences on the peaceable inhabitants. Many of those who sold English goods, and the generality of the poor tailors, who were so unfortunate as to work them, were dragged by these ruffians from their families into the *Liberty*, stripped stark naked

1784.
Violence of
the mob.

CHAP. there, and tarred and feathered after the American mode.
XXI.

This was rather the slightest punishment, for not a few were ducked in the canal until they were almost dead, and some were really put to death. Such acts were continued with greater or less violence until about the end of September, though some of the rioters were now and then apprehended and punished. Once, while one of them was whipped through the town, the mob threw stones at the guard, who fired on them in their own defence, and killed some of them. Quarrels, indeed, had frequently taken place between the mob of Dublin and the garrison, and hence arose a savage custom of houghing soldiers, which had increased so much that it was found necessary to pass an act for levying a maintenance, during life, on the citizens of Dublin for every soldier thus disabled.

In the mean while various resolutions were published by volunteer corps, and others, expressing their disapprobation of public measures. In some the want of protecting duties, in others Foster's bill, and the refusal of a more equal representation, were the chief subjects of complaint. The people, by constant practice, had got, as it were, a knack at forming resolutions and addresses, that were often published on trivial occasions, and, of course, became insignificant by their frequency. The least real or apparent grievance readily produced a brood of these, as the people were prolific in productions of this kind, being fond of displaying their imaginary authority, at least upon paper.

Call of
congress.

Yet there was no public meeting that made such a noise at this time as that of the Aggregate Body of Dublin, convened by the sheriffs on the seventh of June. A series of resolutions were then voted, asserting the right of the people to a frequent election and free representation, complaining of oppressive bills passed last sessions, with other grievances, and recommending "the extension of the right of suffrage to their Roman catholic brethren, still preserving the present protestant government of the country, as a measure fraught with the happiest consequences, and highly conducive to civil liberty." A committee was then chosen to prepare an address to the people, and a petition to the king, which were to be laid before another meeting

appointed for the twenty-first of the same month. At this meeting James Napper Tandy, foreman of the committee, who had already distinguished himself by his zeal, read to the assembly the address and petition, which were approved. The former recommended, that five persons should be elected from each county, city, and great town in the kingdom, to meet in Dublin, in national congress, (an invidious word) on the twenty-fifth day of October; the latter stated the different objects of their complaint, requesting a redress, and insinuated a desire that his majesty would dissolve the parliament.

When this petition was presented to the lord-lieutenant, in order to be transmitted to the king, he promised a compliance with their request, but declared his resolution of conveying, at the same time, “his entire disapprobation of it, “as tending to weaken the authority of the laws and parliament of Ireland.” Petitions of the same tendency from other places were also voted, especially one from Belfast, which *very modestly* requested his majesty to dissolve the present parliament, and summon a new one, according to such a plan as the national congress should digest. This petition being transmitted to Pitt, the minister, for presentation to the throne, he observed in reply, “that he still “continued a zealous friend to a reform in parliament, but “on grounds very different from those adopted in their “petition, and that he considered what was there proposed “as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those “which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy.”

Exertions were, however, made in the mean time to effect the object of the aggregate meeting. In particular, James Napper Tandy, at the desire of the meeting, wrote circular letters to the several sheriffs of every county, and the chief magistrates of every city or large town to convene the people for the purpose of choosing delegates to congress. A few of them consented, but the generality refused, being intimidated by the threats of the attorney-general Fitzgibbon, who assured them by letter, that he would prosecute any sheriff or other magistrate who would call, or preside at, a public meeting convened on such a business. Accordingly he proceeded to file informations in the court of King's Bench ^{Attempts to prevent it.}

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against magistrates who had presided at such meetings, particularly against the high-sheriff of the county of Dublin, who was deprived of his office, fined, and confined in Newgate for a week. His punishment would have been much more severe, had he not behaved very submissively, pleading ignorance, and begging pardon for the offence he had committed. Proceedings of a similar kind were taken against the printers of newspapers who had published the obnoxious resolutions of such assemblies. Yet the legality of these proceedings in the court of King's Bench was very much questioned, and became afterwards the subject of strict investigation in parliament.

Notwithstanding the obstructions thus occasioned, many of the great towns and some of the counties, met of themselves. The town of Belfast chose the patriotic bishop of Derry as one of its delegates, but his lordship declined accepting of its delegation, offering, as an excuse, that he must wait till the town of Londonderry held its meeting, as he must give it the preference, should it resolve to choose him. Accordingly it met and chose him a delegate, on which he consented to attend; but, when the time came, he made some apology, and did not go. The bishop's falling off at this critical juncture was not owing to the proposal of extending the right of voting to catholics, which was a favourite object of his, but to a message he received from the prime minister, warning him to keep from the intended meeting, or to abide the consequence. It must, however, have been owned, even by those who disapproved of the political opinions of this prelate, that he was entitled to high commendation for his rare and disinterested disposal of ecclesiastical preferments.

Diversity
of opinions.

The extension of the elective franchise to catholics was a measure for which the generality of protestants at that time were not prepared. Hence the proposal of the aggregate meeting, already mentioned, tended to produce disunion, especially among the volunteers, which certainly was very agreeable to government. The volunteer corps of Ulster, in their address to the earl of Charlemont, their general, at their review in July, expressed their "satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which had so long

“involved the nation in feud and disunion; a disunion CHAP.
 “which, by limiting *the rights of suffrage*, had, in a great XXI.
 “degree, fostered the aristocratic tyranny, the source of
 “every grievance.” In his reply, the earl professed himself
 “free from every illiberal prejudice against the catholics,
 “but could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties to
 “the armed association to desist from a pursuit which
 “would fatally impede the prosecution of their favourite
 “purpose.” Of the propriety of his conduct on this occa-
 sion a diversity of opinions was entertained according to the
 habits and prejudices of particular people. The Irish bri-
 gade, a regiment of volunteers composed almost entirely of
 catholics, expressed themselves dissatisfied with him, and, on
 the contrary, he received the thanks of the corporation of the
 city of Dublin.

Such was the contrariety of opinions by the unexpected Meeting of
 proposal of the aggregate meeting. The national congress, congress.
 however, which it had appointed, assembled in Dublin on
 the twenty-fifth of October; but as it was far from being
 complete in point of number, after a session of three days it
 adjourned to the twentieth of January, having passed reso-
 lutions similar to those of the aggregate meeting, and an ad-
 dress to the several counties and towns not represented at
 this assembly, requesting them to send delegates to the next.
 The second meeting of congress, on the twentieth of Janu-
 ary 1785, was much more numerous, consisting of above two
 hundred members, the representatives of twenty-seven coun-
 ties, and of most of the considerable towns. The proceed-
 ings appear to have been of the same nature with those be-
 fore adopted; but on the proposed application to the house
 of commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most
 general terms, leaving the mode of redress as open as possi-
 ble to the legislature.

The business of congress being thus quietly settled, it is 1785.
 necessary to take notice of the proceedings of parliament, Commer-
 which also met on the twentieth of January. The lord-lieu- cial propo-
 tenant in his speech informed them, it was his Majesty's sitions.
 wish, that they should frame a plan for finally adjusting
 the trade and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, in

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which the interests of both countries should be equally consulted. This was agreeable to an address to the king on the same subject at the close of the last sessions, in order that some amends should be made for the loss of protecting duties. Accordingly, Mr Secretary Orde, on the seventh of February, proposed ten propositions, transmitted from the prime minister of England, on the commerce of the two countries, with a very liberal speech, setting forth the honesty of his intentions, and the pains he had taken to meet the wishes of the people of Ireland. The purport of these propositions, which were afterwards made eleven, seemed on the whole to be, that England and Ireland should be placed on an equal footing with respect to trade and commerce, and that they should mutually give each other the preference. They therefore seemed to be just and equitable, and, notwithstanding some objections, passed both houses with great applause. They were then returned to England for the discussion of the British legislature, whose concurrence would have established a commercial treaty, highly beneficial to Ireland, with ultimately at least equal advantage to Great Britain, but the blind and malignant spirit of commercial jealousy soon raised an alarm.

Petitions from every part of England poured into parliament against the whole system, witnesses were examined at the bar of the house, and lawyers employed to speak against it. The chief argument used was, that Ireland, by her inferiority of taxation, and consequent cheapness of labour, might be able to undersell England in her own markets; but it was not considered, as proved by experience, first, that scarcity of fuel, the want of capital, of skill, and industry, more than counterbalanced that supposed advantage; and, secondly, that parliament would take care to lay on taxes in proportion to the increased ability of the country. Of this an instance was given this very session; for immediately on the propositions being passed, before their fate in England could be known, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward new taxes to the amount of a hundred and forty thousand pounds a-year, upon the score of the great commercial benefits which the country was on the point of obtaining.

The expectations, however, entertained of these benefits CHAP.
XXI. were unhappily disappointed, for the prime minister, Pitt, importuned by the numerous petitions, and thwarted in his liberal intentions by his great opponent Fox, was obliged to new model the whole plan. Hence the eleven original propositions were multiplied to twenty, which bore but little resemblance to the others, for instead of the system of reciprocal advantage, these propositions, by the alterations and amendments of the British lords and commons, seemed to offer but little more to Ireland than an equality of taxes, an equality of burthens. The fourth proposition set forth that the British parliament should bind Ireland, as the parliament of this country was only allowed to register the acts of the other with respect to commerce. The propositions were therefore, when made known, received with universal abhorrence, and petitions were presented to parliament against them from every quarter of the kingdom. The Irish secretary Orde, could not, therefore, with any face propose them to the house of commons, but on the twelfth of August brought in a bill founded on them, which, he supposed, would be more palatable. His motion, however, met with a most strenuous opposition, and after a vehement contest, which continued till nine in the morning, was carried, in a very full house, only by a majority of nineteen.*

Discouraged by this small majority in the first stage of the business, the secretary, on the fifteenth, having moved the reading and printing of the bill, announced his determination to proceed no farther with it on the present session, and to leave it to be revived or neglected by the public. Such was the failure of a plan, which was never after renewed in the parliament of either kingdom, and the popular joy at the event was displayed by general illuminations. Resolutions were now renewed not to import English manufactures, and the attempts of the populace to enforce them occasioned some tumults and alarms. Previous to the prorogation of parliament, which took place in September, the speaker, Edmund Sexton Perry, resigned from the infirmities of age, and was succeeded by John Foster,

* Ayes 127---Noes 108.

CHAP the chancellor of the Exchequer, who was elected by the un-
 XXI. nimous vote of the house.

1786.

The session of the next year, 1786, was chiefly remarkable for passing an act for the establishment of a police in the city of Dublin, in the place of its former watch. As a heavy tax was now imposed on the metropolis for the maintenance of public officers appointed by the crown, whose influence in the corporation was thus augmented, it naturally gave the citizens great offence. Apprehensive of its consequence, they exerted themselves against it, during its progress through the house, and hence unavailing opposition was made to it by the patriots. The disturbances that had lately taken place in the city formed a pretence for passing this obnoxious act.

Right boys Disturbances of a different kind arose in the south this year. The persons engaged in them styled themselves Right-boys, and resembled their predecessors the White-boys in every thing but the name. Their designs were to rob the established clergy of their incomes, to which they were excited by some persons legally informed. Such men suggested to the farmers to enter into a combination, under the sanction of an oath, neither to take their tithes, nor assist any clergyman to draw them. For this purpose the form of a summons according to law was supplied, of which many thousand copies were printed in Cork, and afterwards distributed through all Munster. But the insurrection began in the county of Kerry, where the people collected in catholic chapels, and took an oath to obey the orders of captain Right, and to fleece the clergy. They engaged that a great number should summon each clergyman to draw their tithe on the same day, and to allow no proctors. They published, indeed, a tithing table at a very low rate, according to which they promised to pay, but they did not adhere to it. The insurrection extended from the county of Kerry to the county of Cork, and other counties in Munster, and the insurgents would march in bodies of some thousands, without arms, administering their oaths of obedience to captain Right, and giving out their laws. Those who did not obey were punished with the same savage cruelty, that the White-boys inflicted on those who gave them offence. Many of the country clergy in the diocese

of Cork, and of Cloyne, in dread of their lives, took refuge in the city of Cork, and left their parishes and their tithes exposed to the insurgents. In their designs, they were secretly encouraged by some gentlemen of landed property, in hopes of getting their estates exonerated from tithes, and therefore, as long as their schemes were confined to curtail- ing the clerical revenue, notwithstanding the cruelties they committed, little or no opposition was given to them, but when they proceeded to limit the rents of lands, raise the price of labour, and oppose the collection of hearth-money, a loud clamour of insurrection was excited, and it was then deemed expedient to resist their designs.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, an act of parliament was passed, for preventing tumultuous as-semblies and illegal combination. On this occasion, the at- torney-general, John Fitzgibbon, who had made an accu- rate inquiry into the affair, exonerated the clergy from the blame of extortion, declaring, that, instead of the tenth, their legal demand, hardly any of them received the twen- tieth; that of course the insurrection was not owing to them, but to the landlords, who ground the peasants to powder by enormous rents, charging them six pounds an acre for their land, and obliging them to work for them for five-pence a-day, by which they were unable not only to pay the cler- gy their due, but even to get food and raiment for them- selves, and that some landlords had incited their tenants to rob the clergy of their tithes, not for the purpose of allevi- ating their own distresses, but with a view of adding the va- lue of these tithes to the merciless rack-rents already im- posed. It appeared, indeed, on the present occasion, that the generality of magistrates had been criminally neglectful of their duty.

1787.

In October of this year, on his return from a tour to the south of Ireland, died the duke of Rutland, of a feverish complaint, occasioned by intemperance. His many amiable and social qualities caused his death to be universally re- gretted, though the expenses of government had been pro- digiously increased during his administration.

Death of
Rutland.

His successor, earl Temple, now marquis of Buckingham, who met the Irish parliament in January 1788, immediate- ly on his arrival proceeded to the examination of the abuses

1788.

Discovery
of frauds
by Buck-
ingham.

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in the various offices of the castle, which he had been prevented from completing by his sudden removal. The system of peculation was now found to be enormous; military stores were openly embezzled; arms, condemned as useless, were carried away through one gate of the castle, and brought back through another, as if newly purchased. The same fraudulent plan was pursued in other departments. Hence clerks in subordinate offices, with the nominal salaries of a hundred a-year, were enabled to live in a splendid style. Their accounts being severely investigated by the viceroy, the fraud was detected, and a demand made of immediate payment, which threw the defaulters into such a panic, that some of them fled the kingdom, some by entreaties and promises eluded the blow, and some had recourse to the horrible expedient of suicide.

At this point the marquis was obliged to stop in his plan of reformation and economy, having no authority to extend it to useless places and pensions, that unfortunately were found necessary for the purpose of securing a majority in parliament for the court, the great object of a chief governor, which could not be attained, such was the corruption of the legislature, even in matters of undoubted utility, without a profuse donation of the public money.

1789.
Disputes
on the
regency.

The corrupt disposition of the Irish parliament was, under the present government, eminently displayed in a particular instance. A disorder, which attacked the king in summer, having terminated, in November 1788, in a mental derangement, his majesty was of course incapable of performing the various functions of sovereignty. In that case, as was natural, the prince of Wales was appointed regent, but under severe restrictions imposed on him by the British parliament at the instance of the prime minister. It was of course expected by the British cabinet, that the Irish parliament, which met on the fifth of February 1789, would follow the example, by imposing on his Royal Highness the same restrictions, and this the viceroy used every exertion to accomplish. In his endeavours, however, he failed, for many placemen and pensioners in the Irish parliament, expecting that the opposite party both in England and Ireland would now rise into power, thought it prudent to make

their peace with them by deserting their present employers, whose interest they saw expiring. Accordingly, they joined the patriotic phalanx of Grattan, and an address was voted by the commons, offering the prince of Wales the regency of Ireland without restrictions. In this address the lords concurred, but as the viceroy refused to transmit it, commissioners from both houses were appointed for the purpose of presenting it to his Royal Highness. CHAP.
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In the meanwhile, Mr Grattan took the advantage of the majority, which adhered to him, to propose bills of a patriotic complexion, which were carried, especially one for preventing revenue officers from voting at elections. But this patriotic fever was of short duration. An account arriving of an unexpected change for the better having taken place in the king's health, many of the new converts began to repent of their rash conduct. Soon after his majesty's health was completely re-established, and it was settled that the present government in both kingdoms should continue. Then, strange as it may seem, on the twentieth of April, the committal of the bill above mentioned was rejected by that house, of which a great majority had voted for its introduction. The other patriotic bills shared the same fate. The placemen and pensioners, who thus displayed the sincerity of their repentance, were allowed to continue in their situations; but a few, who were more obstinate, were dismissed. On the contrary, some were promoted for their rigid adherence to government in the season of trial. Among these, was John Fitzgibbon the attorney-general, who was appointed lord-chancellor, being the first Irishman entrusted with that office by the English cabinet. His subsequent conduct justified the choice that was made, for he applied himself with such indefatigable industry to his duty, as to expedite the decision of causes in his court, that had been many years undetermined, and made it a rule, that none should afterwards continue undecided for a longer time than was absolutely required by the necessary forms of law. Inconsistency of parliament.

In this instance certainly an essential service was effected. However, great discontent was occasioned by the profuse expenditure of the public money. In the administration of the duke of Rutland, the expenses of the Irish government

CHAP. had prodigiously increased, so much so, that the pensions
XXI. then amounted to nearly a hundred thousand pounds a-year, exclusive of those paid in the military department, the charges under the head of incidents in the civil establishment, and the additional salaries of sinecure places, both of which were in reality pensions. Yet the duke was so agreeable and amiable in his manners and private conduct, as to procure for himself, with all the expenses of his government, a considerable degree of public favour.

Extrava-
 gance of
 Bucking-
 ham.

In this particular, the marquis of Buckingham was not so fortunate. He was reserved and haughty in his deportment, which did not suit the frank and open turn of the Irish people. Besides, they were greatly disappointed in the expectations they had formed of his public conduct. He set out with some acts of economy which were certainly laudable, and gave a favourable omen of his future administration. But he stopped at the point of reform in the offices of the castle, and afterwards pursued with perseverance the established system of governing by pecuniary influence. He was so lavish of the public money for the purpose of procuring votes in parliament, that, beside the creation of new places, he added thirteen thousand pounds a-year to the pension list. Hence a strenuous opposition to his measures was made by the patriots in the house. For a while it was attended with success, but the restoration of the king's health soon brought back the deserters, and secured him a sufficient majority. During the season of their desertion, a vote of censure was passed against him by the house for refusing to transmit the address to the prince of Wales, and hence a mutual distrust arose which was never afterwards removed.

The patriotic party in parliament, in order to render their opposition more strong and systematic, formed an assembly termed the Whig-club, similar to one of the same name in London. In their meetings their plans of attack on the minister were arranged; and the particular post to each member assigned; but it was not confined to members of parliament, and persons were admitted into it who were afterwards charged, on good grounds, with treason and sedition. Their declared objects, which repeatedly became

matter for parliamentary discussion, were bills for limitation of pensions and places, a bill of responsibility, requiring the acts of the executive government to be signed by certain officers resident in Ireland, who should be responsible for these acts with their lives and fortunes ; a bill for disqualifying the officers of revenue to vote in the election of members of parliament, a repeal of the police bill of Dublin, together with a total demolition of the new charges created by the marquis.

Disgusted with his loss of popularity, the marquis retired from a country, where his situation was so disagreeable, in June 1789, leaving the government in the hands of the two lords-justices, the lord chancellor, and the speaker of the commons. His successor, the earl of Westmoreland, who did not arrive till the beginning of the succeeding year, met the parliament on the twentieth of January 1790. The same system of influence was continued by government, and the same strenuous opposition by the patriotic party in the commons. At the head of this party stood the eloquent Mr Grattan, who made many a severe philippic against the corruptions of administration. In particular, he charged them with the sale of peerages, and of applying the money thus acquired in the purchase of seats for their adherents in the house of commons. This unconstitutional act, which they did not venture to disavow, could only be justified by the supposed necessity for having a majority in parliament to do the king's business, which, on account of the depravity of human nature, could be secured no other way than by emolument. In April the parliament was dissolved ; the new one met in July, and Foster, the late speaker, being re-elected, it was prorogued in fourteen days after. It met again for the dispatch of business in January 1791, and during this session, its proceedings differed very little from those of the one previous to the dissolution : but the patriots seemed rather to have lost than acquired strength by the new election.

The affairs of Ireland assumed, however, a new complexion from the revolution of France, which took place on the fourteenth of July 1789. This event, the most extraordinary recorded in the political annals of the world, which

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1790.
1791.
Same measures pursued.

1792.
Celebration of the French revolution.

C H A P. XXI. at first seemed so favourable, and afterwards proved so detrimental to liberty, and so destructive to the human race, was viewed by the generality of the people of Ireland with very strong sensations of joy. Meetings were held to celebrate it in different places, particularly in the town of Belfast, which took the lead on this occasion. On the fourteenth of July 1791, the inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood met to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution, when all the armed corps of volunteers attended, and fired several feus-de-joie; many striking emblems, in allusion to the revolution of 1688, were displayed, to mark their horror of despotism and arbitrary power, and a most sympathetic address was sent from this assembly to the society of the friends of the constitution at Bourdeaux, to which a suitable answer was returned. On the fourteenth of July 1792, the commemoration was again celebrated at the same town, with great pomp and splendour, and, on that occasion, several emblematic figures and representations were exhibited, drawn along by horses, with appropriate inscriptions, expressive of the liberty obtained by France, and the slavery to which Ireland was still subject. When the procession was over, the volunteers, and many of the inhabitants of the town, assembled in the Linen-hall, and entered upon the discussion of politics. The principal topics handled at this meeting were parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation, which were now connected together. In favour of these they entered into strong resolutions, and voted an address to the national assembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland.

United
Irishmen.

A plan of an association, under the name of *United Irishmen*, for the attainment of these ends, was printed in Belfast in the June of 1791, and, in the following November, this new society was accordingly instituted in Dublin, for the purpose of forming, as they declared, “an union of Irishmen of every religious persuasion, in order to obtain a complete reform of the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.” Conformably to this idea, every person, on his admission as a member, pronounced and subscribed a test, solemnly promising,

in the awful presence of God, to use his exertions for the promotion of that scheme. C H A P.
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Whatever may have been the sentiments of the generality of the persons thus associated, some of them appear to have entertained the dangerous project, which was not communicated to the rest, of overturning the present government, and erecting a system of democracy in its place. This, of course, was to be effected by force of arms, and, in order to provide the means of executing their designs, an institution was formed in Dublin, and also in Cork, of *national guards*, whose uniform was *green*, the national colour, and their buttons engraved with a harp under a cap of liberty, instead of a crown. The twenty-ninth of December 1792 was the day appointed for the general muster in Dublin, and all the volunteer companies of the city were invited to attend on the occasion, in order to celebrate the triumph of liberty in France.

From the very beginning the British court appear to have been highly dissatisfied with the restraints imposed on the regal authority in that kingdom, and with the intemperate joy expressed on that account by some British subjects. The generality of the people of England were not, however, attached to French principles, and many inclined to them were converted by the parliamentary speeches and pamphlet of the famous Edmund Burke. To this pamphlet several answers were published, but particularly one of a violent democratic cast, by the republican Thomas Paine, styled *Rights of Man*. By these means the power of the English government was rather increased than diminished through dread of revolution, and precautionary modes, as the suspension of the act of Habeas Corpus, were adopted, by which several persons were confined through suspicion.

The inflammatory writings of Paine and others had, however, more effect in Ireland, a soil more fitted for their reception. In this country, on account of the greater discontent of the people, government had always recourse to more arbitrary measures than in England. Hence, so early as the year 1789, some severities were exercised beyond the due limits of the law, particularly *fisks*, or warrants, were

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issued by judges against persons charged with libels, demanding such excessive bail, that those persons, through inability to obtain it, were long confined in prison. This punishment was inflicted particularly on John Magee, printer of the Dublin Evening Post, who was arrested by a warrant issued by lord Clonmel, chief-justice of the King's Bench, and his lordship's conduct on this occasion was afterwards approved by a majority in parliament.

Their suppression.

During the process of the French revolution, government found it requisite to increase their vigilance, and hence the formation, professed and peculiar habits of the *national guards*, above mentioned, were viewed by them with suspicious eyes. They therefore determined not only to suppress them, but all armed associations not sanctioned by their authority, and accordingly, on the day immediately preceding the intended muster, a proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant and council, absolutely interdicting all seditious assemblies, and commanding the magistrates, if necessary, to disperse them by military force. This menace, with the array of the garrison, caused the national guards to put off their meeting, and the much-talked of muster never took place.

Manifesto of United Irishmen.

The society of United Irishmen, being foiled in this attempt, determined still to persevere, and accordingly, on the fourteenth of the succeeding month, they published a manifesto or counter-proclamation, exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms for the maintenance, as before, of public tranquillity, in opposition both to foreign and domestic foes, and recommending the protestants of Ireland to chuse delegates for provincial assemblies, preparatory to a general convention, by which a common cause might be formed with the catholics, and thus "universal emancipation, and "representative legislature," the great objects of their desires, be obtained. In this address they style the ministry "the "faction or gang which misrepresents the king to the "people;" and observe of the army, "that they once were "citizens, that seduction made them soldiers, but nature "made them men!" For the publication of this libel Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the secretary of the United Irishmen on that occasion, a gentleman of respectable family

and fortune, of amiable manners and character, but of a too facile disposition, was afterwards prosecuted and convicted. C H A P.
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A secret committee for the management of the political concerns of the Irish catholics, elected from the several dioceses of the kingdom, and parishes of the metropolis, had subsisted in Dublin since the year 1757. In a meeting of this body in February 1791 a petition to parliament was proposed, but some respectable catholics, through dread of being suspected of revolutionary designs, declined to concur in this measure. Sixty-four of these, including the lords Kenmare and Fingal, having formally seceded from the rest, presented, in the month of November, an address to the lord-lieutenant, expressive of the respectful submission of themselves and the catholic body to government, and of their resignation to its wisdom and humanity. Catholic
committee.

In the session of parliament, which commenced in January 1792, some new indulgences had been granted to the catholics, such as admission to the practice of the law, intermarriage with protestants, and full liberty of education; but with these partial concessions the majority of the catholic committee were not satisfied, and, in opposition to the party seceding, persevered in their pursuit of a redress of grievances. In order to lay before government the sense of the whole catholic body collectively, they fixed on the fashionable plan of a convention, composed of delegates from the several towns and counties, who were to be elected by persons deputed, two from each parish. The committee also thought it expedient to publish a solemn disavowal of some dangerous tenets commonly supposed to be entertained by them. They denied that princes excommunicated by the pope may be murdered or deposed; that men may be murdered for being heretics; that actions, immoral in their own nature can be justified under pretence of being committed for the good of the church; that no faith should be kept with heretics, or that oaths made to persons of that description are less binding than those made to catholics. They also declared, that, in their opinion, no power could absolve them from their oaths of allegiance, or from any just oaths or contracts; that the pope was not infallible, and had no temporal jurisdiction within this realm; and that since 1792.

CHAP. could not be forgiven by either pope or priest without sincere repentance. Finally, they solemnly renounced all claims of forfeited lands, and all designs of subverting the present ecclesiastical establishment.

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Such public declarations were necessary in their present situation, to refute the charges of their enemies, and confirm the attachment of their friends, who were chiefly among the dissenters, and society of United Irishmen. Many protestants, however, suspecting the sincerity of their declarations, apprehensive of their intemperate zeal, or for various other reasons, were unwilling to allow them any share of political power. Hence resolutions hostile to their claims were voted by grand juries, the assembled freeholders in counties, and the corporations of Dublin. These resolutions also condemned their plan of convention as seditious.

Convention The convention, however, being elected in the manner appointed, met in Dublin, on the 3d of December 1792, in Taylor's-hall, in Back-lane, and hence was called in derision the *Back-lane parliament*. Some splendid samples of oratory were now exhibited, and a petition voted to the king, stating the grievances, patience, and long-tried loyalty of the Irish catholics. In this petition they dwelt principally on their deprivation of the elective franchise, which they style their "prime and heavy grievance, the cause and "bitter aggravation of all their calamities." Five deputies were appointed to present this petition to his majesty, who set out without delay on their important mission. Having preferred the short seas, they reached Belfast on the twelfth of December, where they were received with great honours, for immediately on their arrival, at nine o'clock in the morning, many respectable protestant inhabitants waited on them, and breakfasted with them at the inn, and on their departure the populace, urged by their superiors, took the horses from their carriage, and dragged them over the long bridge of that town, shouting out with loud huzzas. "Success attend you, union, equal laws, down with the ascendancy."

1793.
Elective
franchise
obtained.

Proceeding to London through Scotland, they were, on the second of January 1793, introduced by secretary Dundas to the king, who received their petition in a very gracious

ous manner. The condition of his catholic subjects his majesty recommended to the Irish parliament, which met on the tenth of January, and accordingly an act for their relief was passed in that session, to which, it seems, many even of those who voted for it, were averse. By this act catholics obtained the great object of their desire, the elective franchise, and were placed nearly in the same political situation with protestants, except that they were still excluded from a seat in parliament, and the privy council, from the office of sheriff, and some other offices under the crown, about thirty in number, specified in the act, and that their clergy were to be supported solely by their own voluntary contributions. Towards defraying the expense of effecting this desired object, nearly six thousand pounds were raised from the catholic body, of which above two thousand three hundred was received for his services by the son of the famous Edmund Burke, who had acted as their agent.

Some other popular bills, for which the patriots had long contended in vain, were, with the concurrence of administration, also passed this session. These were, a place bill, a pension bill, and responsibility bill. By the place bill it was enacted, that all who should hold places under government, created after the date of the bill, or other places specified, particularly those of officers of the revenue, whose duty required their absence from the metropolis, should be excluded from a seat in the house of commons. By the pension bill it was enacted, that all who should hold pensions for years, or during the king's pleasure, should be also excluded. By this bill, the annual sum of pensions, which then amounted to nearly a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, was reduced to eighty thousand. The responsibility bill declared, that no warrant from the king, for the disposal of public money, was legal without the signature, and consequent responsibility to parliament, of the proper officers in the Irish administration. By this bill the hereditary revenue was given up, and, like the additional supply, voted annually. A few more popular bills were also passed, by which a trade to India was permitted under specified restrictions, encouragement given for the improvement

C H A P. of barren land, and an explanation afforded respecting the
XXI. power of juries in case of libel.

Gunpow-
der and
convention
bill.

The ministry having thus, by their conciliatory conduct, mollified the opposition, got two bills of a coercive nature passed with little difficulty. These were termed the gunpowder bill, and the convention bill. One was intended to prevent gunpowder, arms, and ammunition, from being imported, removed, or kept without license; the other to prevent the appointment of conventions or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, to his majesty or parliament. By the latter was defeated the project formed by the United Irishmen, of having a national convention held at Athlone in September, or some other time of that year.

War with
France.

Measures of precaution as well as of conciliation were judged necessary by government, in the present conjuncture. Enraged at the countenance given by the national convention of France, to the democratic societies both of England and Ireland, and at the cruel death of the unhappy Lewis XVI, they dismissed the ambassador of the French republic with disdain, and of course caused that state to declare war against Great Britain. Thus was completed that immense confederacy, of potentates combined for the purpose of crushing French power and French principles, which produced the very contrary effect. At the very commencement of the war, commercial credit received such a shock, that the bank of Ireland found it necessary to advance, on the security of parliament, two hundred thousand pounds, to be distributed, at five per cent. interest, among some mercantile houses, who had sufficient property, but could not convert their goods into money to answer their immediate demands.

Militia bill In the present session was passed a bill, for raising by ballot a militia of sixteen thousand men, whose time of service was to be four years. By the mode of compulsory recruiting, each person of whatever station on whom the lot fell was obliged either to serve, to find a substitute at a great expense, or pay a heavy fine, and therefore it was considered a great grievance, especially as the people were not accustomed to it before. To alleviate the burthen by

dividing it, subscriptions of money for raising recruits were generally adopted, and insurance offices were established to indemnify individuals for a stated sum. Thus for a time a heavy tax was imposed on peasants, and others of small means and large families. Recruits could have been got with more ease, if the common people had a perfect reliance on the faith of government; but this really was not the case, owing to a particular circumstance. A regiment termed the *green linnets*, which had been enlisted during the American war, on the express promise of not being obliged to serve out of Ireland, was, notwithstanding, carried to America, in breach of a solemn compact. Hence the people were apprehensive that the militia would be treated in the same manner. Thus were discontents occasioned, and riots produced in completing the militia, which cost the lives of some persons, both soldiers and insurgents.

Insurgents styled *Defenders*, who were unconnected with the business of militia, had prevailed for some years preceding, and having of late risen to such a height as to attract the attention of parliament, a secret committee of the lords, appointed early in the present session, made a report of their violences, as well as of the proceedings of the United Irishmen. The Defenders succeeded the White-boys, but were not like them confined to a particular quarter. They arose, indeed, in the county of Armagh, it is supposed, from the following cause. At a horse-race, at a place called Drumbee, near Hamilton's Bawn, about the year 1784, there happened to be a quarrel between some catholics and protestants of the established church. The former being supplied with arms, overcame their opponents and drove them off the course. Enraged at their defeat, the protestants of the lower order began to take arms from the catholics, which they had shown peculiar eagerness to collect, and were well supplied with muskets, swords, and pistols. The latter being resolved to prevent them, if possible, styled themselves *Defenders*,* and the former assumed the title of *Peep-of-day-boys*, as they broke into the houses of their antagonists in search of arms at a very early hour in the morning.

* The above intelligence was attained by an accurate inquiry on the spot.

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On this occasion, they used also to insult the people, and burn their furniture. The Defenders, who were all bound by the same oath, seemed to have been regularly organized in the year 1789, and to have been prepared either for defence or assault. Some contests, accompanied with bloodshed, now took place between parties of these hostile religionists, and some murders were perpetrated with premeditated design, particularly by the Defenders, who appear to be of a more sanguinary cast. In the year 1791, they committed a most atrocious act at Forkhill, in the county of Armagh, where a protestant schoolmaster, named Barclay, with his wife and brother-in-law, were mutilated in a shocking manner, of which a minute recital would be very offensive.

Though the Defenders had been frequently checked, they had long become private aggressors, and, at the time the committee of lords made their report, had extended their associations through the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and the adjacent parts. Assembling in large bodies at night to learn the use of arms, they went through their military evolutions under their captains, the most infamous individuals of the community, and under the specious name of Defenders committed all sorts of crimes. Their usual practice was to break open the houses of protestants, seize their arms at first, then their money and other valuable effects, murder loyal inhabitants, especially the established clergy, as the Rev. Mr Knipe and the Rev. Mr Butler, chaplain to the Bishop of Meath. In time they spread, with a uniformity of design and similarity of oaths, to the most remote counties, where Peep-of-day-boys had certainly never existed, such as Kerry, Wexford, Limerick, &c. In many parts the country gentlemen were obliged to leave their houses, or keep soldiers in them, and build up their windows, leaving only a kind of port holes there, like fortifications prepared against the attack of the enemy.

1794. The eventful session of 1793, in which the bill so much desired by the catholics, and other conciliating acts were passed, but which did not sufficiently tend to conciliate the people, or stop the violencies of the Defenders, was concluded on the sixteenth of August. At the commencement of the session in January of the succeeding year, the lord-lieute-

nant in his speech expressed his satisfaction at the success of C H A P.
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his majesty's arms, and of those of his allies over the French, who had declared war against Great Britain without provocation, and were endeavouring to involve every government in Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

During the present session was renewed, by William Brabazon Ponsonby, a bill, which had been presented in the last one, for obtaining a more equal representation of the people in parliament, but it was now rejected by a great majority. Of late, however, the people did not, as formerly, by petitions and addresses support the minority in parliament in the promotion of this plan. For this change of sentiment three reasons can be assigned. 1. On account of the admission of the catholics to the elective franchise, the adherents of protestant ascendancy became averse to the suppression of the boroughs, which they considered as a barrier against the encroachment of those religionists. 2. By the dread of revolutionary principles emanating from France, where they had produced such a terrible effects, many became less ardent in their zeal for political innovation, and others more strenuous in their determination to resist every attempt of this kind. 3. The scheme of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, adopted by the society of United Irishmen, had rendered the idea of reform unpalatable to many friends of genuine liberty, and the glaring defects and absurdities of this scheme were exposed with great eloquence by the patriotic Henry Grattan himself, in the house of commons.

Some of the leading members of the society above mentioned were about this time stopped in their career by the interposition of government. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, being tried for circulating the manifesto already noted, was found guilty of publishing a seditious libel, sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and give large security for his future good behaviour. A charge was afterwards brought against him of being engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the French government, but before brought to trial on this charge, he effected his escape out of prison, and fled to the continent. Thither also fled James

Attempts
at reform

Seditious
persons ob-
liged to fly.

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Napper Tandy of Dublin, the famous agitator of democracy, who had given bail to stand his trial at Dundalk, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of talents, the principal framer of the society of United Irishmen. Rowan was supposed to be implicated in the treasonable correspondence with one William Jackson, an English clergyman of the established church, who was tried next year and found guilty, but expired at the bar of the court of a dose of poison, taken to avoid the shame of a public execution.

1795

Fitzwilliam vice-roy.

Some months before his trial, earl Fitzwilliam, who had joined the British administration, in his zeal against the French republic, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On his arrival, in the beginning of January 1795, he commenced the exercise of his authority by removing from their places, with suitable compensations, such servants of government as, he thought, were averse to his plan, especially the right honourable John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue. His plan may be deduced from his speech delivered to the parliament, which met on the twenty-second of January. In his speech, after recommending suitable supplies for the war, he mentioned the state of education, and the advantages arising from the protestant charter-schools, a usual topic in such speeches, but observed that these advantages were partial, and that other considerations connected with this important subject were necessary; that in the present crisis it would be wise to derive profit from the united strength and zeal of every description of his majesty's subjects, and that his majesty would cheerfully concur in every measure tending to that salutary purpose. The address to the king was moved by Henry Grattan, who, though he had not accepted a place, was allowed to be the confidential minister of lord Fitzwilliam. In his speech on that occasion he took notice, among other points, of his majesty's recommending national harmony, "and settling the troubled waters, in which the bark of the country had been long shattered under various false pilots for ages of insane persecution, and impious theology"

Disappointment at his removal.

From the complexion of their speeches it is evident that it was the intention of the Irish government to countenance the repeal of all remaining disqualifications affecting the

catholics, and petitions from that body to that effect were presented to parliament from almost every part of the kingdom. Accordingly, a bill was introduced by Henry Grattan, conformable to these petitions, which was received with only three dissentient voices. Such was the state of the business; but before the affair could be brought to a decision, the British cabinet had determined to recal lord Fitzwilliam. As soon as the rumour of this determination was spread abroad, the catholics of Dublin, having assembled in their chapel of Francis-street, deputed three of their body with a petition to the king, to deprecate the measure. The deputies were graciously received by their sovereign on the thirteenth of March, but no answer was given them, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month earl Fitzwilliam embarked for England. The city, on his departure, exhibited a mournful aspect, and his carriage was drawn by respectable citizens to the place of embarkation.

Great expectations were formed of this nobleman, the owner of a large estate in Ireland, and, from the popularity of his character, the extraordinary supply of one million, seven hundred thousand pounds was voted without opposition. In a correspondence with the earl of Carlisle on this subject, published in his own vindication, he asserted, that the lieutenancy of Ireland was conferred on him without restrictions, and that he had full liberty to take all suitable means for attaching the great body of the people to the British government, and that ministry had in particular consented to grant catholic emancipation. Hence he complained of being deceived by them, a charge which they denied, but they would not allow a parliamentary investigation. Yet, suppose that all he asserts in this correspondence was literally true, and that he took the lieutenancy of Ireland with full liberty to grant catholic emancipation, it appears, from his own communications with the cabinet ministers, after his accession to the government, that they had abundant reason to change their opinion on this point. In these communications he declares, “that the danger of delay in granting the Roman catholic claims, was great and imminent, that to resist it wholly would im-

CHAP. “ply the certainty of the most alarming consequences;—
XXI. “that he trembled about the catholics, and that he had
“great fear of keeping them quiet for the session.”* From
these representations it would be inferred, that they were
very ungrateful for the important concessions lately afforded
them, and desirous of an *excuse* for insurrection. The af-
fairs of Ireland, indeed, from the departure of this noble-
man, took a new and alarming turn.

* See *Letters from a venerated nobleman*, and *Essay on the Political cir-
cumstances of Ireland*, by A. Knox, Esq.

CHAPTER XXII.

Commencement of Camden's government—Catholic college—New system of United Irishmen—Insurrection act—Violences of Orangemen—Armed yeomanry—Leaders of the union apply to France—Invasion attempted at their desire—Their neglect of Munster—Their chief attention to Ulster—Violent acts of their adherents there—Severe measures of government—Their success at the present—Mode used to seduce other parts—Declaration of Orangemen—Hussey's pastoral letter—Adverse to scheme of union—Organization of United Irishmen—Their military arrangement—Parliamentary proceedings—Attempts against ministers—Seditious newspapers suppressed—Hand-bills, &c. substituted—Intercourse with France continued—Invasion prevented—Emissaries to France arrested—Members of Irish Directory—Discovery of Reynolds—Arrest of chief conspirators—Discovery of Armstrong—Violences of the United Irish—Arms demanded by the military—Their punishments of various kinds—Arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald—Of others involved in the same charge—Time for insurrection appointed.

THE administration of earl Camden, the successor of the popular earl Fitzwilliam, had a very ominous commencement. On the thirty-first of March, the day he was sworn into office, the lord primate, and the lord chancellor Fitzgibbon, on their return from the castle, were assaulted by a mob, who threw stones at their carriages, and pursued the chancellor to his house in Ely-place, to which he got his escape made with a wound on the head.

This nobleman was particularly obnoxious, on account of his strenuous opposition to complete catholic emancipation, of which the ambitious part of that communion had

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ment of
Camden's
govern-
ment.

Catholic
college.

CHAP. an ardent desire. The bill in favour of this measure, introduced during the late government, was brought forward again, under different auspices, on the fourth of May, and after a violent debate, protracted till near eleven o'clock the next morning, it was rejected by a great majority.* However, in compliance with a memorial of the preceding year from the catholic prelates to the earl of Westmoreland, a bill was passed this session for the establishment of a catholic college, for educating for the Romish priesthood such young men of Ireland as had resorted for that object to foreign universities, but were deprived of the usual benefits, by the disordered state of the continent. Accordingly, a college was founded at Maynooth for the purpose above mentioned, which has been very liberally endowed by government,† and previous to its establishment, catholics got permission to study in the protestant university of Dublin.

New system of
United
Irishmen.

Such indulgences, however, were not satisfactory to the people of that persuasion. The recal of the popular nobleman, which was succeeded by addresses and violent speeches, and the fate of the bill so anxiously desired, produced a general discontent. Defenders now assumed a more menacing aspect; they daily increased in number, and extended even to the capital. In their associations, however, men only of low rank were engaged; but the society of United Irishmen, began at this time to form a new system, planned with deep design, for combining Defenders, and all other malcontents, of every religion, in a grand conspiracy against the existing government. From the very beginning, the leading members of this society had probably a scheme of this kind in their heads, but the chief object of the generality was a parliamentary reform, beyond which their wishes did not seem to extend. Their idea of reform was indeed immoderate and fantastic, and condemned by the whig-club, but it was innoxious, when compared to the present scheme for overturning the constitution. After the recal of earl Fitzwilliam, the frame of the society of United

* For rejecting 185—Against 84—101.

† Nearly forty thousand pounds was granted at its first establishment, and every successive session a regular charge of eight thousand, was brought before parliament for its annual support.

Irishmen underwent a material alteration. At first the plan of the association was public, but now became secret, and each member, on his admission, now took a solemn obligation, on no account to discover on any member of the society, for any act or expression of his suitable to the design of the institution. This was called the oath of secrecy. Though reform in parliament was still the avowed object, yet in the test, as now altered, the word parliament was entirely omitted, the sentence being as follows, "I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland." This ambiguity of language was made use of, that reformers, by this disguise, might be induced to unite with republicans. At that time, the latter had hopes of success from the assistance of the French, with whom revolution was more an object than reform.

In the session, which terminated in June, the Dublin police-act was repealed, which had caused such discontent in the metropolis. Discontent and disaffection unfortunately became very general, and as the existing laws were supposed insufficient to suppress the Defenders, a violent expedient was adopted, which could be only justified by the absolute necessity of the case. In the western counties where lord Carhampton commanded in a military station, the magistrates would assemble at his requisition, and having examined into the charges against persons confined in jail, on the accusation of being Defenders, they would order those of them who appeared most guilty to be sent to serve on board his majesty's navy, and these orders his lordship would take care to execute. His conduct in this instance, was as much applauded by government as condemned by the opposition, and a subsequent bill of indemnity secured the magistrates from danger.

In the next session of parliament, which met in January 1796, an act was passed giving the magistrates by law that authority which some of them had previously assumed. This act was termed the *Insurrection act*, and enacted, that on the petition of seven magistrates of a county assembled at a session of the peace, the chief governor and council might proclaim that county, or any district of it, in a state

1796.
Insurrec
tion act.

C H A P. XXII. of disturbance, and give the magistrates authority to search houses for arms, and to treat as culprits all persons who should, without sufficient excuse, be discovered absent from their houses at unseasonable hours; the magistrates had also authority to seize all persons who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and if they could not get bail at assizes, to send them on board the fleet. It also enacted, that administering unlawful oaths of a treasonable nature was a capital offence, and that in case a witness was murdered, his written testimony should be competent to go as evidence to the jury. This latter clause was absolutely necessary, as witnesses were frequently murdered previous to trials. In October (for the parliament met in that month for a few days) the act of habeas corpus was suspended by the legislature, and hence government got authority to confine in jail persons obnoxious or suspected, without cause assigned, or appointed time of trial.

Violences
of Orange-
men.

While government was taking these measures for their security against the designs of the disaffected, who were united for their ruin, a body of men joined themselves together of a very different description, whose professed object was to give them support. But the assistance afforded, at least at their commencement, by those supposed friends, was such as could not gain the approbation of any well regulated government, and certainly tended to increase disaffection among the catholics. The hostile contests, occasioned by religious animosity, between the *Peep-of-day-boys* and Defenders in the county of Armagh, having continued for many years, at length, in 1795, the *Peep-of-day-boys* were joined by some other protestants, who formed themselves into an association under the title of Orangemen. Their name they took from king William, prince of Orange, who had rescued the protestants of Ireland from persecution, and afforded them a political superiority in the country. The Defenders and Orangemen, as they were called, having recourse to arms, had various rencounters, and though the former were more numerous, the latter generally gained the victory, which was owing to their being better acquainted with discipline, as many of them had formerly been volunteers. At a place called the *Diamond*, which lies be-

tween Richhill and Portadown, they had a pitched battle in which a few Orangemen defended themselves with great spirit against a large body of Defenders, of whom some were killed. Mutual animosity being thus increased, the Orangemen began to search at night the houses of their opponents more strictly for arms and ammunition, with which, in great quantities, they had been clandestinely supplied from Dublin and other parts. When they found them concealed they demolished both them and the furniture, for which violent transgression some of them were hanged. But even with this enormity they were not content, for they posted up papers at night on the houses of their adversaries, ordering them *to go to hell or Connaught*, and threatening severe punishment on their disobedience, which they took care to inflict. Hence some hundreds of catholic families, it is said fourteen hundred, were forcibly expelled from their houses, and obliged to take shelter in that province or other parts. This terrible persecution was publicly condemned by the governor of the county, and some others of fortune and consequence, but in his laudable exertions he was not sufficiently seconded by some magistrates of inferior station.* Such acts of atrocity, though disgraceful to the persons concerned, reflect no imputation on the Orange societies afterwards formed by persons of respectable character, who bound themselves under an obligation to support the constitution, which the United Irishmen had previously engaged to destroy. The existence of one society afforded, of course, a sufficient excuse for the formation of the other to counteract its bad effect.

An association, however, of more extensive utility had its commencement in the year 1796. At that time government began to embody an armed yeomanry, which might make a material addition to the troops of the line and militia, and afford the government more strength to resist both foreign and domestic foes. Hence great opposition was

* Mr Plowden asserts, in his *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, "that not a single magistrate in the county of Armagh had been stricken off the commission, though many were believed to have encouraged these outrages." This really is not true. One magistrate in that county was not only stripped of his commission, but fined and confined for his partiality to these disturbers.

C H A P. given by disloyal people to their formation. The com-
XXII. panies of yeomen generally consisted of fifty men, and were
 at first mostly cavalry, owing to the apprehension of govern-
 ment, who did not wish to entrust arms with even the
 lower order of protestants, lest they might become a dan-
 gerous engine in the hands of designing men, and begin to
 dictate like the old volunteers. The cavalry, who were
 supplied with a sword, and only one pistol, were found, on
 trial, not sufficiently efficacious, on account of the face of
 the country being uneven, thick set with hills, and intersect-
 ed with numerous ditches. Hence infantry were afterwards
 more usually formed, and the yeomanry, which, in the
 course of six months, amounted to thirty-seven thousand
 men, and were still increasing, proved themselves, by their
 courage, loyalty and activity, in times of extreme peril, well
 worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

Leaders of
 the union
 apply to
 France.

During these preparations the leaders of the society of
 United Irishmen were by no means inactive. In the sum-
 mer of 1795 they dispatched, on a treasonable mission, one
 Edward John Lewins, as a special messenger to the Execu-
 tive Directory of the French republic, soliciting their assis-
 tance towards separating this country from the British ge-
 vernment. For this proposal, it is supposed, the Directory
 were prepared by Counsellor Tone, then resident in France.
 In January 1796, the messenger returned with a favourable
 answer, and, in the summer of that year, the plan of inva-
 sion was settled at an interview which took place near the
 French frontier between Lord Edward Eitzgerald, Arthur
 O'Connor, and general Hoche. Accordingly, the French
 government began, without delay, to make preparations
 for this intended invasion, and these preparations, during
 the autumn of that year, were familiarly mentioned both in
 Great Britain and Ireland. Yet the British cabinet, either
 doubting or disregarding the intelligence, took not suitable
 measures for defence.

Invasion
 attempted
 at their de-
 sire.

The armament consisted of twenty five ships of the line
 (including seven composing the squadron of admiral Richery,
 who was to join with all speed) fifteen stout frigates, beside
 sloops and transports, containing an army of twenty-five
 thousand men. Admiral Bouvet was commander in chief

of the fleet, and general Hoche of the land forces, whose military abilities were hardly inferior to those of Buonaparte himself. Delayed by various causes the fleet did not sail till the sixteenth of December, and, on going out of Brest, some of the largest ships struck, during a fog, upon the rocks at the mouth of the harbour, by which accident several were lost, and others rendered unfit for service. On the next day the armament was dispersed by a tempest, which continued to blow with more or less violence during the whole time of the expedition. On the twenty-fourth admiral Bouvet anchored in Bantry Bay with seventeen vessels, of which ten were of the line, and sent a boat to the shore with a reconnoitering party, who were immediately made prisoners by the peasants. The French officers were eager to land with the troops already arrived, but the admiral, deterred by the hostile aspect of the country, would not consent till the general should join them, who was aboard a frigate, which had been separated by the storm from this part of the fleet. After waiting for some days the admiral returned to Brest, as did also all the divisions of the scattered navy, with the loss of only two ships of the line and three frigates. Of the former one foundered at sea, and the other was driven on shore in France; of the latter two foundered, and the other was taken by the English.

During sixteen days the Irish coast lay exposed to a hostile force, which clearly proves that the irresistible fleet of Britain is not a sufficient safeguard against invasion. Their landing was providentially prevented by the violence of the elements, but had it taken place, very disastrous consequences might have ensued. The army appointed to oppose them was in a disorderly state, partly disaffected, and, it is said, but ill provided, especially with cannon. Their march towards the south in the very depth of winter was extremely severe, but their toil and sufferings were in some degree abated by the active assistance of the peasantry, who vied with each other in clearing the roads of the snow, and affording them such comforts as their scanty means would allow. Hence it appears, that the leaders of the United Irishmen had not prepared them to second the invasion, which really was the case, occasioned by two contradictory

Their ne-
glect of
Munster.

CHAP. XXII. pieces of intelligence received from the French government.

In November they got a message assuring them of the immediate sailing of the fleet, but in a few days after the messenger's departure they received a letter, which they considered as authentic, representing the proposed expedition as deferred until the spring of the next year. By this mistake the people of the south being left to their own choice, at this critical juncture, were loyal, to which indeed they were urged by a very seasonable pastoral letter from Dr Moylan, the catholic bishop of Cork.

Their chief
attention to
Ulster.

Among the people of the north more care was taken by the United Irishmen to propagate their principles, and to these they applied at first, as they were more fitted to receive them, being dissenters, or connected with them, of a democratic cast, accustomed to free inquiry and political discussion. The town of Belfast, in which the United Irishmen took their rise, abounded, in particular, with people of that sort, fiery zealots who diffused the flame of disaffection over the whole province of Ulster. As a suitable vehicle for their principles they made use of the Northern Star, a newspaper published in that town under the direction of Robert and William Simms, and Samuel Nelson, son of a dissenting minister. These were merchants, who had been tolerably successful in business, and it too often happens that persons of that description, from managing their mercantile affairs with skill, conceive a high opinion of their capacity for legislation, and consider themselves capable of conducting the complicated machine of government. By the inflammatory publications of the Northern Star the people were roused into a kind of political frenzy, and entertained an abhorrence against government, whom they were taught to look on as there oppressors. Though in reality they were little oppressed with taxes, and enjoyed freedom of commerce and constitution, yet they could not be convinced of this, being led astray by the fallacious arguments and wild declamation of that seditious paper, which assured them that they were in slavery and misery, and urged them to rise up against their tyrants, and shake off their chains. Hence the design of insurrection was daily increasing, and suitable modes were adopted to prepare for it. In the beginning of November

1796, ten barrels of gunpowder were stolen out of the royal stores in Belfast. C H A P.
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By such preparations for disturbance the public discontent was displayed, and at the end of the present, and through a great part of the next year, the province of Ulster was in a very unsettled state. Parties of insurgents used to roam at night, and seize the arms of those whom they regarded as adherents to government. In daylight larger bodies used to assemble either to attend funerals, or, under pretence of attending them, when an empty coffin would be carried along. On these occasions they would say they were going to bury *Betty Bigotry*, by which was meant that papists and presbyterians, having buried their ancient animosities, now coalesced against government. Large bodies used also to meet to dig the potatoes, and reap the corn of their adherents, especially of the United Irishmen confined in jail. At their meetings of this kind they sometimes marched with music, as if in military array, and it was thought that the real object of such meetings was to train men to repair with promptitude to places of public assembly, to give confidence to their own party, and to intimidate their opponents. Beside digging the potatoes and reaping the corn of their friends confined in jail, subscriptions were raised to support them and their families, to bribe witnesses on trials, and fee eminent lawyers. Numerous agents attended at the assizes, to assist the attornies, at the trials, among whom were discovered some dissenting ministers, who seemed very busily engaged. Terror was also employed to frustrate the operations of the law. Various modes of persecution were put in practice, and in some instances even assassination was made use of. Magistrates, witnesses, and jurors, have been murdered for doing their duty.

The fate of the Rev. Doctor Hamilton, late fellow of Trinity College, the ingenious author of letters on the coast of Antrim, excited much sympathy. Having retired on a living in the county of Donegal, he exerted himself as a magistrate against the United Irishmen, and of course was marked down as an enemy. The time they chose to execute their vengeance was when he happened, in March 1797, to be on a visit with his college friend, Dr. Waller, at Sharon, in the same county. A party of them attacked the house at

1797
Violent
acts of their
adherents
there.

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night, and fired into the windows, by which Mrs Waller was shot. They then demanded Doctor Hamilton, with terrible threats if he was not produced, and therefore the servants, in dread of their lives, were obliged to drag him out of a cellar where he was concealed, and deliver him to the armed ruffans, who murdered him, and mangled his body with many wounds.

The terror struck by examples of this sort had the due effect on magistrates, witnesses, and jurors ; and hence many United Irishmen, whose guilt was apparent, were acquitted at the assizes, on which public bonfires were displayed to celebrate the victory.

Severe
measures of
govern-
ment.

Government now found it necessary to have recourse to strong measures. Many persons in good circumstances were imprisoned on secret information or suspicion, without being brought to trial, of which the issue might be well known. Several districts in the north were proclaimed, and some of the lower sort of people were sent on board the royal navy. General Lake, who had the chief military command in the northern province, got authority, in the beginning of March 1797, to use the troops according to his discretion, for the prevention of disturbance. Soon after he issued a proclamation commanding that a general surrender of arms should be made, and promising that rewards should be given to informers, and inviolable secrecy preserved. The troops had orders to search all suspected places, to prevent all unlawful assemblies, especially after a certain hour of the night, and to seize at such a time all persons found abroad without authority, who were liable to punishment. To effect this purpose they were skilfully disposed, and about this time, two committees of United Irishmen were arrested in Belfast, in full consultation, and their papers seized, which were immediately laid before a secret committee of the house of commons. Yet these measures were found inadequate to the end proposed, and therefore the chief governor issued a proclamation, on the seventeenth of May, declaring the civil power inefficacious, and giving express orders to the military officers to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of treason, at the same time offering pardon to all those who had entered into unlawful engagements, on their surrendering to magistrates in a month,

taking the oath of allegiance, and giving bail, if required, for their good behaviour in future. From this pardon, however, were excepted persons guilty of some specified crimes. Soon after the proclamation the military officers got orders from earl Carhampton, the commander-in-chief, to act of themselves without waiting for any authority from the civil power.

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In their search for arms through Ulster, the military were active and successful, many fire-arms and pikes being given up, and yet the people took every method to conceal them and deny them, and endeavoured to satisfy the soldiers by offering the worst arms, that thus they might retain the best for their own purposes. When the military supposed the arms in possession of individuals were not given up, they would burn or plunder the houses and effects of those who would not produce them, or force a discovery by the picket or other modes of torture. The smiths accused of making pikes they punished in particular with great severity. They also wrecked the houses or shops of persons strongly suspected, and sometimes, to the terror of the affrighted families, committed these shocking acts of violence in the dead hour of the night. In the town of Belfast much destruction of property was thus occasioned. The punishment, it is true, usually fell on the guilty, who were sufficiently numerous there, but some loyal people also suffered through misconception. The printing office, and printing materials belonging to the Northern Star, were demolished by the military, who thus took an effectual mode to prevent that paper from disseminating disaffection for the future. A fencible regiment of Welch cavalry, called the Ancient Britons, was eminently remarkable for a strict execution of the rigid orders received, which caused them to be so much marked by the rebels, that in the course of the rebellion hardly one of them escaped. Government at this time had got certain intelligence of a plan of insurrection being fully matured, and therefore thought a severe military execution the best mode to break down the rebellion, before the day appointed for the general rising should arrive.

Their exertions in this point were, at least for the present, attended with success. So many of the efficient mem-

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Their suc-
cess at the
present.

bers of the society of United Irishmen were by acts of rigour forced into prison or exile, or terrified into inaction, that the whole system was disorganized, and the intended rebellion confined to a trifling commotion near the mountains in the county of Down. Great numbers of misguided people took the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, which was extended for a month longer with a salutary effect. The inferior societies of United Irish in that quarter, discontinued in general their meetings, and therefore only a proportion of the counties were represented in the provincial committee. Order was so far restored that the administration of justice was again committed to the civil power, and after August the interference of the military was seldom exerted.

Previous to the offer made by government of accepting their surrender, there were, belonging to the society of United Irish, nearly a hundred thousand men in Ulster. This province was then considered as the main strength of the union, and next to it was reckoned the metropolis, with the adjacent counties of Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's County. By the mode of surrender offered, a considerable number was deducted from the society of United Irishmen, and of these a portion, it may be supposed, were sincere in their conversion, especially those who were urged by terror to join them.

Mode used
to seduce
other parts.

The leaders of the society, being not discouraged by the defection in Ulster, sent more emissaries to other parts of the kingdom, where little progress had been made, with instructions to try every mode to work on the passions and prejudices of the people. In particular, the peasantry were assured that, in case of rebellion, they would be exempted from the burthen of tithes, a benefit of which they were more sensible than universal suffrage and equality of rights. As these were mostly of the popish religion, an attempt was made with success to rouse both their terror and resentment, by circulating dreadful accounts of the sanguinary designs of Orangemen, who, it was said, had entered into engagements to welter in the blood of catholics. For this purpose fabricated oaths of the Orange association were printed and dispersed, and reports circulated of a nocturnal massacre of catholics being intended, which caused the people of some

districts to leave their houses, and lie concealed in the fields during the night. C H A P.
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The Orange association, which had spread from the county of Armagh over other parts of the north, and extended to the metropolis, of which some persons of considerable rank had become members, at length found it necessary to refute those calumnies. Accordingly they published a declaration, setting forth that the object of the institution was the preservation of public order, and the existing form of government, with the protection of all loyal persons whatsoever religion they professed. They also declared, that it never entered into their thoughts to injure any one on account of his religious opinions. In their solemn protestations they were certainly sincere, and by the conduct of the present members, a laudable institution, which at first had been disgraced by outrage, was considerably improved. Yet these specific professions were but little regarded by the lower order of the catholics, whose prejudices, which were naturally great, had of late been increased by the deceitful arts of the propagators of disaffection.

The bigotry of those religionists was sanctioned and encouraged, by the publication of a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, by Doctor Hussey, the catholic bishop of Waterford. In this pious address he lavishes high encomiums on his own religion, declaring, in a rhapsody of applause, that it is preached to all nations, to all people, propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, professed by many kings and princess, by the most polished and learned nations of the world, suitable to all claims, all forms of government, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies, and that nine-tenths of Ireland are of that persuasion, (a bold assertion); that the protestants are a small contemptible sect, of a limited duration, confined to the country where it was first formed; that the catholics, the professors of the true religion, had been for ages ground down by the ruling party in Ireland, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands; that two centuries had tried in vain to pervert them, and that the history of mankind does not afford an instance of such perseverance in re-

Declara-
tion of
Orange-
men.

Hussey's
pastoral
letter.

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ligious principles. He forbids all catholic parents, under pain of excommunication, to allow their children to mix with those of protestants at places of public education, and in particular rails against the charter-schools, for which immense sums of money are given by parliament, and levied upon that very people, whose creeds they thus endeavoured to purchase. The right honourable Edmund Burke, a professed member of the established church, in his correspondence with this same prelate, a part of which is published, displays even an equal zeal for popery, for he expresses himself as highly enrag'd, that a protestant chancellor, or protestant judges, should have any concern with the catholic college of Maynooth, or that the catholic religion should be subject to its avowed enemies.

By the publication of this letter, which displays considerable ability, and was widely circulated, the religious prejudices among the Romanists, at least in those parts, were very much augmented, and their children removed from protestant schools to avoid the contamination of heresy.

Adverse to
scheme of
union.

The religious animosities thus increased, were inconsistent with the plan of the United Irishmen, who wished that all sects should leave aside their ancient prejudices, and join together in a general design against the English government. In the north, this generally took place, and on account of the prevalence of their principles in that quarter, the animosities of the Peep-of-day-boys, and Defenders, were very much abated in the county of Armagh. The presbyterians of the north, in their resolutions for a parliamentary reform, as volunteer corps, or freeholders, which were published in the newspapers, affected great liberality of sentiment, setting forth how sensible they were of the grievances under which their catholic brethren still laboured, and the just claim they had to complete emancipation. In the south the protestants, being of the established church, were not so much inclined to disaffection, and therefore the emissaries of the United Irishmen applied chiefly to the catholics of those parts, circulating the false stories of intended massacres, which too often had the desired effect.

Organiza-
tion of
United
Irishmen

The organization of the Irish union, having for some time assumed a military form, was at length new modelled and

completed in August 1797. The association contained a number of societies linked closely together, of which the lowest or most simple consisted of twelve men, residing as near as possible to each other. Different committees were appointed, to whom was given a superintendence over the persons by whom they were chosen. These committees were termed lower baronial, upper baronial, county or district, and provincial committees. A lower baronial was an assembly of five secretaries, elected by five simple societies, and an upper baronial of ten delegates, elected by ten lower baronial committees. The county committees, and district committees, which belonged to large towns, were composed of delegates from the different baronial committees, and the provincial committees of delegates from the several district and county committees. Of these there were four, one for each province, but the number of delegates in each provincial committee was not equal, as some counties or districts sent three, some two delegates, according to their extent or population. The supreme command was committed to an *executive directory*, (a name furnished by the French republic), consisting of five persons, chosen by ballot by the provincial committees. Their names were only known to the secretaries of those committees, for they examined the ballot, and informed the persons appointed of their election, and none others. The orders of the directory were communicated with great privacy; one member only conveyed them to the secretary of each of the provincial committees, by which means, they were transmitted through the several committees, till at last they reached the simple societies.

The military organization, being engrafted on the civil, was constituted in the following manner. The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, and the delegate of five of these to a lower baronial committee, was usually captain over the five simple societies, which made up a company of sixty men. The delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper baronial committee, was generally colonel of a battalion of six hundred men, composed of the fifty simple societies, over which this upper committee had the superintendence. The colonels of each county, transmitted the names of three persons to the directory,

Their military arrangement.

C H A P. and out of these, one was appointed by that body to act as
XXII. adjutant-general of the county. A military committee was also appointed by the directory, to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army, should it land, or for an insurrection, should it be ordered even without their assistance. Orders were given for all the members of the union, to furnish themselves with fire-arms, or pikes, according to their ability, and voluntary subscriptions were entered into, to defray the necessary expenses attending the revolutionary scheme adopted.

1797. While the abettors of insurrection were making such pre-
Parliamen parations for executing their designs, the Irish parliament,
tary pro- which met on the sixth of January 1797, had a suitable ap-
ceedings. prehension of the schemes that were formed against them. On the nineteenth of April, a secret committee of the commons was appointed to examine the papers of the two committees of United Irishmen, who had been arrested in Belfast. On the tenth of May, they delivered in their report, by which it appeared, that the real object of the leaders of the union, was the formation of a democratic commonwealth by the assistance of France, and that parliamentary reform was made use of as a pretext, to entice into their society loyal people attached to that measure. For the purpose of undeceiving persons of that description, the report was ordered to be published. About this time a motion was made for a temperate reform, including the extension to catholics of the same political privileges enjoyed by protestants, but it was rejected by a majority of nearly six to one.* The minority seemed greatly disgusted at the repeated rejection of their favourite scheme, making very dismal forebodings of the effect, and threatened to secede from the house.

Attempts Against the system of coercion, they were not content
against mi- with their opposition within the house, but exerted them-
nisters. selves elsewhere to the same effect, and by their interest, applications were made to sheriffs, and other legal officers, to hold meetings, in order to prepare petitions to the king, for the removal of his present ministers. But the meetings

* The rebel provincial committees of Ulster and Leinster, in a resolution, expressed their contempt for such puny attempts in parliament, declaring, "that nothing short of *complete* emancipation would satisfy."

were prevented by the refusal of the officers, by the threats of military violence, or the dispersion by the army of the inhabitants actually assembled. Such interference of the soldiers, however unconstitutional, was certainly justifiable at the time when a scheme of rebellion, which had been long hatching, at length had grown to maturity. Yet the system of coercion was severely condemned in the British parliament, and dismal accounts given of military violence in Ireland, from which, notwithstanding, it appeared that beneficial effects had been produced, at least in the North.

These acts of severity were not generally known beyond the parts of the country in which they took place, as the fate of the Northern Star terrified the other established newspapers from publishing any account of them. Previous to the demolition of its materials, two of its proprietors, Robert and William Simms, by the suspension of the act of habeas corpus, had been confined in Newgate, but the paper was still continued under the direction of the other proprietor, Samuel Nelson, an active agitator, until it provoked by its intemperance, the indignation of the military, displayed in the manner already noted. In the latter part of the year 1797, a paper of a similar cast was instituted in Dublin, called the *Press*,* of which the publisher was put in prison, when Arthur O'Connor, as required by law, avowed himself the proprietor, and of course accountable for its contents. By a law made in the beginning of 1798, grand juries were allowed to present as nuisances newspapers containing seditious matter, and after such presentation, authority was given to magistrates to destroy the printing materials. The paper above mentioned was in consequence suppressed, and another, styled the *Harp of Erin*, prevented.

In place of newspapers hand-bills were privately printed and circulated, by which, and oral modes of communication, the instructions of the directory on various subjects were conveyed by suitable agents through the whole society of United Irishmen. In order to reduce the royal revenue

* This paper condemned Dr Hussey's Pastoral Letter for "breathing a spirit of *unchristian disunion*."

CHAP. they were recommended to abstain from spiritous liquors, **XXII.** and cautioned against purchasing quit-rents, as, in case of a revolution, the bargains would not be valid under a new legislature. They were also cautioned against accepting of bank notes in payment, on account of the supposed insecurity of the existing government. But the caution was rendered ineffectual, by an order given by the privy council to the governors of the national bank, to discontinue payments in specie for their notes. In many cases they were considered a legal tender for debt, and those who refused to sell goods for notes, were liable to have soldiers quartered on them as a punishment for their disaffection. Inflammatory hand-bills were also distributed among the military to corrupt them, and money employed for the same purpose, in some cases with success, for several soldiers were shot for being engaged in the conspiracy. Beside hand-bills, cheap copies of Paine's age of reason were circulated gratis, in order to destroy, or at least weaken the people's belief in the holy scriptures, which so strongly inculcate loyalty to the existing government.

Inter-
course with
France con-
tinued.

While such measures were taken for internal opposition, the Irish directory at the same time maintained an intercourse with the French republic. After the failure of the expedition to Bantry Bay, a messenger named Lewins, with orders to solicit another armament, was dispatched for Paris, at which city he arrived, by way of Hamburgh, about the end of May 1797, and continued there as ambassador. Apprehensive lest the severities of government should force the people to a premature insurrection before the arrival of the expected succours from France, the Irish directory, at the end of June of the same year, sent off their own secretary, Doctor M'Nevin, to press for these succours with great urgency. Having found at Hamburgh some difficulty in procuring a passport for France, he transmitted, by an agent of the French republic, a memoir to Paris, which was presented to the directory. In this memoir, a statement was given of the situation of Ireland, and a promise made to France of complete reimbursement of expenses from the confiscation of church lands, and the property of all opponents to Irish emancipation. At the same time

were required troops not exceeding ten thousand, nor falling short of five thousand men, with artillery, ammunition and small arms. On this memoir being presented to the directory, an order was sent to M'Nevin to proceed to Paris, where he delivered, on his arrival, a second one, employing every possible argument for hastening the invasion at the present critical juncture. He also attempted to raise either in France or Spain, but without effect, a loan of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, on security of the supposed confiscations that were to take place.

The Irish directory, by demanding from France but ten thousand men at most, showed a desire of getting only such aid as would enable the people, with their own exertions, to shake off the English yoke. But the designs of France being, as they apprehended, not to give them liberty, but to make a conquest of the country, the French directory were anxious for affording more considerable aid. Accordingly, preparations were made at Brest and the Texel for sending a much greater force; at the latter fifteen thousand men were embarked under general Daendelles, but were again put on shore through dread of the British navy. In order to open the way for an invasion, it was resolved to risk an engagement at sea, and therefore the Dutch fleet, under admiral De Winter, at the instance of the French government, though contrary to the opinion of its commander, was obliged to sail. On the eleventh of October 1797, this fleet was met by admiral Duncan, with a superior British force, near Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, and totally defeated, by which the intended invasion was prevented.

These disappointments had certainly a sensible effect on the spirits of the leaders of the conspiracy, but their zeal was so ardent as not to be easily cooled. In the mean while they were so urged by the vigorous measures of government, that they resolved, in February 1798, to make a desperate effort at insurrection with their own forces, and accordingly appointed a military committee, and sent minute instructions to the adjutant-generals. At the same time they prepared a most pressing dispatch for the French directory, but could find no means of having it conveyed. However, they soon after received a letter from that government, promising the

Invasion
prevented.

1798.
Emissaries
to France
arrested.

CHAP. long-expected succours in April, of which they were also
XXII. disappointed. Previous to the receipt of this letter, Arthur O'Connor, a member of the Irish directory, attempted, at the end of February, to pass through England to France, no doubt with the solicitations of his associates, for aid, but was arrested on suspicion at Margate, together with James Coigly, an Irish priest, and John Binns, a member of a political club in England, styled the corresponding society. Being tried at Maidstone in the May following, Coigly was found guilty and executed; O'Connor and Binns were acquitted, but detained on another charge of treason.

Members
of the Irish
directory.

Arthur O'Connor, a supposed lineal descendant of Roderic O'Connor the last monarch of Ireland, being brought into parliament by his uncle Lord Longueville, made a most brilliant, but intemperate oration, in the year 1795, in favour of catholic emancipation, which gave such offence to his uncle that he required him to resign his seat, to which he agreed. He now became a strenuous republican, and was active in disseminating his principles. A noted instance of his zeal in this cause was a circular letter addressed to his countrymen, in January 1797, circulated to excite disaffection, and promote the designs of the United Irishmen, for which he was arrested by government, and confined some time as a prisoner of state. Being distinguished in this manner, he was considered by the leaders of his party as qualified for an eminent office among them, and therefore was chosen a member of the Irish directory, together with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Oliver Bond, an extensive woollen-draper, Doctor M'Nevin, a catholic, and counsellor Emmitt, a lawyer of abilities more showy than solid.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, had served in the royal army with military reputation, and was highly esteemed for his honour, humanity and candour. But being disappointed in obtaining, on a vacancy, the commission of lieutenant-colonel, to which he supposed himself entitled, he repaired to Paris in disgust, about the beginning of the year 1792, and became an enthusiastic admirer of the political principles which were then in fashion in that city. During his continuance there he married a French lady, distinguished for her democratic zeal, supposed

to be a natural daughter of the duke of Orleans. On his return he avowed his principles without reserve, and expressed his approbation of the revolution of France in such forcible language, as to cause the interference of government. His name, by his majesty's command, was struck off the military list, but at the same time he was allowed to sell his commission. He now became a determined and dangerous enemy to the British government, for he was well fitted to excite, if not to direct, a revolutionary commotion, as he was a man of an active spirit, daring courage, and of a family respected, on account of its ancient grandeur, by the generality of the Irish.

The number of men engaged by oath in the conspiracy amounted at least to five hundred thousand, but of those many were urged to join through terror, and it seldom happens that so huge a body, composed of such opposite materials, acts with concert, or pays a due obedience to leaders, if such of ability could be selected, especially when the grievances are imaginary, not real for real; grievances and oppressions tend to unite all parties, however opposite in principles and inclinations. Besides, a secret communicated to an immense multitude, though bound by solemn oaths, is constantly discovered, when great rewards may be obtained by the discovery. A remarkably fortunate incident occurred on the present occasion.

Thomas Reynolds, a silk-weaver in Dublin, a catholic, who had purchased an estate at Kilkea castle, in the county of Kildare, was considered by the leaders of the conspiracy as a fit person to have authority among them, as he had great influence among those of his own persuasion. They therefore tampered with him with great industry, and at last prevailed on him to accept the commission of a colonel of United Irishmen, the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare in the new system, and of delegate in the province of Leinster. Soon after having found that their designs were very different from what he expected, he repented of the engagements into which he had entered, and, in a conversation with William Cope, an eminent merchant in Dublin, his particular friend, he was so struck by his arguments, that he offered to disclose the proceedings

Discovery
of Rey-
nolds.

C H A P.
XXII. of the conspirators, on receiving a suitable compensation for the losses and dangers to which he might be subject. His friend, who had some authority with government, acceded to his proposal, and accordingly he afforded the necessary information, though in a very cautious manner, as if it had been obtained from another person.

Arrest of
chief con-
spirators.

Intelligence was now given that the Leinster delegates were to meet at the house of Oliver Bond, on the twelfth of March, to concert measures for an insurrection which was shortly to take place. Of course, government had recourse to such measures as seemed necessary on the occasion. On the day appointed, William Bellingham Swan, an active magistrate, at the head of twelve serjeants, disguised in coloured clothes, entered the house of Oliver Bond in Bridge-street, and arrested thirteen delegates sitting in council. At the same time their papers were seized, which led to a farther discovery of the plot. On that day Emmitt, M'Nevin, and Bond, members of the directory, were arrested, with other chief conspirators, and warrants were issued against lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard Mac-Cormick, and counsellor Sampson, who made their escape. New members of the directory were soon chosen in room of those who had been arrested, and, in order to prevent despondency, a hand-bill was industriously circulated among the whole society, announcing the safety of their friends in custody, the activity of their leaders, the *organization of the capital*, and advising them against rash or precipitate measures. The new directory, however, were far inferior in talents to the former one, and, by their own rash conduct, suffered their schemes to be detected.

Discovery
of Arm-
strong.

One Captain Armstrong, of the King's county militia, was in the habit of frequenting the shop of Patrick Byrne, a bookseller in Grafton-street, Dublin, who was considered as a literary agent of the United Irishmen. Byrne, from frequent conversation with the captain, had reason to suppose that he was become a convert to the cause, which was considered a great acquisition by the rebel faction, as they were naturally desirous of bringing over the military to their side. Armstrong, having pretended to enter into the plot, was introduced by Byrne to Henry and John Sheares, two young barristers of ability in their profession, who had

been lately elected members of the directory. These gentlemen, who were brothers, and natives of Cork, having visited Paris in 1792, imbibed the revolutionary principles of the French republicans, and, on their return to Ireland, put their principles in practice, by engaging strenuously in the conspiracy of the United Irishmen. Their entire plan of insurrection they communicated to Armstrong, who had the address to insinuate himself into their confidence, and by him it was regularly conveyed to government. Thus, by the discovery, first of Reynolds, and then of Armstrong, the projects of the Irish rebels were completely developed.

It was the intention, at least of the former directory, to restrain their adherents from insurrection, until there should appear a probability of success, and even, if possible, from all acts of violence as would cause disturbance in the country, or alarm to government. It was also their intention, as has been already shown, to form a political union of all sects, in which they so far succeeded as in a great degree to put a stop to the feuds of the Orangemen and Defenders in the county of Armagh, by prevailing on both parties to take the united oath. But the lower members of the union, especially in the south and west, could never be induced to be so liberal, and the violent bigots caused religious jealousies to be revived, by circulating false reports of the designs of the Orange associations to destroy the catholics. These reports were received with implicit confidence by the common people of that persuasion; and, indeed, all Orangemen who adhered firmly to their principles, however inoffensive, were objects of particular abhorrence to the United Irishmen. Some houses of persons obnoxious to them were burnt, and acts of assassination still committed, particularly on those who had appeared as witnesses against them on trials, which had caused the written testimony of a person murdered before a trial to be made equal in law to his evidence before the jury. Bands of them also continued to collect arms by force at night, and, when the body became large, they even ventured to do it in day-light. At Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, eight hundred men, mostly on horseback, searched for arms and ammunition in the open day, and collected and carried away all they could find.

Violences
of the
United
Irish.

C H A P. XXII. These various acts of violence, with the positive information received, caused government to take the most decided measures for suppressing the conspiracy. Accordingly, after a proclamation published, stating the existence of a traitorous conspiracy, displayed in acts of open rebellion, General Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief, got orders to proceed with his army into the disturbed counties, with full powers to act as the occasion should require. The general, having fixed his head-quarters at Kildare, issued a manifesto on the third of April, addressed to the inhabitants of the county, requiring them to surrender their arms within ten days, threatening, in case of disobedience, that large bodies of troops should be distributed among them, to live at free quarters; promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, and also threatening to have recourse to other severities, if the county should still continue in a state of disturbance.

Their punishments of various kinds.

On the advance of the military into each county the same notice was given, and, at the expiration of the time appointed, the troops were quartered on the houses of persons disaffected, in numbers proportionable to the supposed guilt or ability of the owners. Many houses were burned, with their furniture, where concealed arms were found, where meetings of the United men had been held, or persons resided who were guilty of making pikes, or of other practices tending to promote the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some of superior rank, particularly in Dublin, were scourged or otherwise tortured, in order to force a confession of concealed arms or plots. A few, arrested on strong suspicions, were partly strangled, and others had pitched caps placed on their heads, on the removal of which the hair or skin was sometimes torn off. Those who wore striped handkerchiefs with any mixture of green in them, or had their hair cut short, supposed emblems of disloyalty, were liable to military insult. Indeed in Ireland the term *croppy* and *rebel* soon became synonymous. The various punishments above mentioned, were usually occasioned by the private informations given to magistrates or military officers, which were kept strictly secret, and though malice

might have operated in some few cases, yet it was universally owned by all impartial observers, that the generality of those who suffered were certainly guilty. A man might have been a notorious rebel, and yet conduct himself with such caution, as to prevent the possibility of evidence being found out, sufficient to convict him before a court-martial, or court of justice. Though some wanton acts of cruelty might have been committed by common soldiers and others attached to government, yet when the passions of loyal men were inflamed by the certain knowledge of a dangerous conspiracy, and the perpetration of several horrid deeds, it could not be expected, considering the frailty of human nature, that the rules of strict equity and humanity should be constantly observed. It must certainly be owned, that many material discoveries, which could not otherwise be obtained, were extorted by military punishment, but a justification of the mode is not the object of an historian.

As the time for insurrection approached, of which government had certain knowledge, they became daily more apprehensive of lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was really very formidable, as he possessed military talents and courage in a high degree, and had contrived the whole plan of the attack. Having made his escape at the time the delegates were seized at Bond's, a warrant was immediately issued against him, and some time after a proclamation, offering a reward of a thousand pounds for his apprehension; which, at length, had the desired effect. Information being received that he had returned to Dublin, and was lodged in the house of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers, in Thomas-street, suitable measures were taken for his apprehension. Major Sirr, accompanied by Captain Swan, and Captain Ryan, both yeomen, with eight soldiers in coloured clothes, repaired to the house of Murphy in carriages, on the nineteenth of May, at five o'clock in the afternoon. While they were posting the soldiers below, Captain Swan, perceiving a woman run hastily up stairs, followed her with all speed, and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed in a dressing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordship, he had a warrant

CHAP. against him, and that resistance would be vain, assuring him,
 XXII. at the same time, he would treat him with great respect.
 On this lord Edward sprung from the bed, and made a desperate resistance with a dagger, with which he gave severe wounds to Captain Swan, and a mortal one to Captain Ryan, who came to his aid, but Major Sirr, coming in during the struggle, fired at him with a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder, on which he surrendered. He was conveyed to the castle, but died of his wound in great agony, on the third of June. Captain Ryan had previously expired on the thirteenth of May. Captain Swan, though he got many dangerous wounds, providentially recovered.

Of others
 involved in
 the same
 charge.

On the nineteenth and twenty-first of May, some others were arrested, involved in the same charge, particularly Patrick Byrne, the bookseller, and Henry and John Sheares. In the house of Henry, in Baggot-street, was found a proclamation, in the hand writing of John, intended to be published after the capital should be in possession of the insurgents. It is indeed of a sanguinary complexion,* but the national benefit, supposed to be derived from the projects of revolutionists, makes amends, in their opinion, for the means they make use of in the attempt, however contrary to the dictates of humanity.

Time for
 insurrection
 appointed.

The night of the twenty-third of May, was the time fixed for the insurrection, which was to commence with an attack, by one party, on the camp of Loughlinstown, seven miles from Dublin. By another, the artillery at Chapelizod, which is two miles from the city, was to be seized in an hour after, and, on this being effected, both parties were to enter at the end of an hour and a half, exactly at the same moment, and co-operate with a third party, by whom the castle was to be surprised. The stopping of the mail coaches, on the same night, was to be a signal for the insurgents in other parts of the kingdom to commence their operations. Of all those schemes government having a complete know-

* It concludes thus, " Vengeance, Irishmen ! vengeance on your oppressors. Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders.—Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders.—Remember Orr !" William Orr had been hanged at Carrickfergus, in October 1797, for high treason.

ledge, lord Castlereagh, the secretary, by a letter to the lord mayor, on the twenty-first, and the chief-governor, by a message to the parliament, on the twenty-third, informed them, that a discovery had been made of the disaffected having designed to possess themselves, in the course of that week, of the metropolis, to seize the seat of government, and those of authority within the city, and that consequently such military precautions were taken as seemed expedient. To the message, the house of commons voted unanimously a suitable address, expressing their abhorrence of their designs, with which they walked, in solemn procession, to the castle, preceded by the speaker, the sergeant at arms, and all the officers of the house.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Measures of defence—Commencement of the rebellion—Attack of Naas—Of Kilcullen—Surprise of Prosperous—Treachery of catholic yeomanry—Proclamations—Attack of Carlow—Execution of sir Edward Crosbie—Various operations—Rash affair at the Curragh—Hostilities in Wicklow—Ennisairias of disaffection—Application to priests—Persecution of protestants—State of the county of Wexford—Insurrection—Murder of two clergymen, &c.—Defeat of the rebels at Kiltomas—Their victory at Oulart—Attack of Enniscorthy—Alarm at Wexford—Evacuated by the king's army—Possessed by the rebels—Proceedings at Gorey—Attack of Newtownbarry—Battle of Clough—Retreat of the royal troops—Battle of Ross—Massacre of Scullabogue—Inactivity of rebels—Battle of Arklow—Different proceedings—Camp of Vinegar-Hill—Daily massacres there—Attacked by the royal army—State of protestants at Wexford—Battle of Horetown—Massacre of Wexford—Offers to surrender the town—Entered by the royal army—Reflections.

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1798.
Measures
of defence.

FROM the information already received, complete knowledge being afforded to government of the designs of the United Irishmen, and of the exact time, when these designs were to be put in execution, such measures were of course taken as might naturally be expected. The prime object was to secure the metropolis, which was so guarded at every point as to prevent a possibility of surprise. In this service the yeomanry were found of great benefit. It also very fortunately happened that the city was entirely environed by the royal and grand canals, both broad and deep, the bridges of which, being at a convenient distance from each other, were occupied by the troops. These bridges, in a day or two after the rebellion broke out, were even better secured by pallisades, and gates erected on them. Of

course no rising was attempted in the city; but in the night of the twenty-third, several persons were seized with pikes in the streets, and early in that night Samuel Nelson, the principal conductor of the Northern Star, was seized by the gailor of Newgate, in the act of reconnoitering that prison, with an intent to attack it.

Though the city was preserved from disturbance by the measures already taken, yet so deeply laid, and so widely extended was the plan of the rebellion, that all the exertions of government could not prevent insurrection in different other parts. The peasants around the city rose up on the night of the twenty-third, the time appointed, and began their operations. The mail-coaches they destroyed in their progress from Dublin, at a small distance from the city, that thus their confederates in other parts might get notice of hostilities having commenced. Though only armed with clumsy pikes, and some guns in bad order, they attempted, by a similarity of attacks, to surprise the various military posts in that quarter, and to prevent some inter-communications from reaching the metropolis. In that night, and the following day, several skirmishes took place with small parties of the royal troops, and several towns were attacked near the seat of government. In the generality of these skirmishes the royal troops were successful.

Commence-
ment of the
rebellion.

The most considerable military station assailed by the insurgents at the very commencement of the rebellion was Naas, a town in the county of Kildare, fifteen miles from Dublin, where there was a garrison of three hundred of the Armagh militia, under lord Gosford, with some detachments of cavalry. On the twenty-third, two anonymous letters were received, one by his lordship, the other by lieutenant-colonel Acheson, informing them that the town would be attacked that night by a large body of insurgents. In consequence of this information the guards were doubled, and every measure necessary for defence was adopted. As the garrison continued unmolested till two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, many officers had gone to bed, supposing the information received to be groundless; but at half past two a dragoon from an out-post came in with intelligence that a large body of rebels were moving

Attack of
Naas.

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towards the town. On this the drums beat to arms, and the troops proceeded to the posts already appointed. In a short time about a thousand rebels, under one Michael Reynolds, entered the town by different ways, many proceeding through the houses and narrow lanes into the streets, and penetrated almost to the gaol, where they made a violent attack, but were repulsed by the military. The attack was renewed by them again in various directions, but being unable to make any impression on the troops, they fled on all sides, and were pursued with slaughter by the cavalry. Of the king's troops two officers and some privates were slain ; of the rebels thirty were found dead in the streets, and about a hundred killed in the fields or roads in the pursuit. A few were taken prisoners and immediately hanged, of whom three were distinguished with green cockades.

Of Kilcul
len.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the same day the town of Kilcullen, in the neighbourhood, was attacked by three hundred rebels, against whom a body of cavalry made three previous charges without success, and with very considerable loss, for two captains and thirty privates were killed or severely wounded by the pikes of the enemy. Yet in a few minutes after, these victorious pikemen were totally routed by twenty-two infantry of the Suffolk fencibles, led on by general Dundas, who had unfortunately ordered the cavalry to charge before the infantry came up. The effect shows how unfit cavalry are to attack men in battle array armed with pikes. At Dunboyne and Barretstown, the rebels were successful in surprising small escorts of the military ; they were also unhappily successful in another place, of which a particular account is requisite.

Surprise of
Prosperous.

Prosperous is a small town in the county of Kildare, intended for a seat of cotton manufactures, distant seventeen miles from Dublin. On the Sunday previous to the rebellion, Captain Swaine having arrived there with a detachment of the city of Cork militia, immediately repaired to the chapel, where he exhorted the people to surrender their arms, as did also successively father Higgins the priest, and doctor Esmond, a Roman catholic gentleman of family and fortune. These exhortations having not the desired effect, Captain Swaine did some injury to the property of persons who were known to be disaffected, and to

have concealed arms in their possession. Yet, after all, only two or three pikes and firelocks were given up. On the twenty-third, however, the priest and the doctor assured the captain that the people were become repentant, and that they would have brought in their arms during the night but that they were afraid of the sentinels. Many of them also gave evident tokens of repentance, by surrendering to captain Swaine, and expressing their deep contrition for having engaged in the conspiracy of the United Irish. The captain, therefore, at the desire of the professional gentlemen, ordered the sentinels not to challenge the people, an order that proved fatal to the garrison.

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At one o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, a body of rebels, of whom many had given false tokens of repentance, conducted by the treacherous doctor Esmond himself, who was first lieutenant of a yeomanry corps, attacked the small garrison by surprise, killed the sentinels, rushed into the barrack, and when a bold resistance was made by the soldiers just roused from sleep, set the barrack on fire, and then received on their pikes any soldiers that escaped from the flames. Thus, twenty-eight of the Cork militia were destroyed, with their commander, captain Swaine, who was murdered in his bed. Nine men also of the *Ancient Britons*, a Welch regiment of cavalry, were butchered in the houses where they had been billeted, and five were made prisoners. On transfixing the soldiers with pikes, as they were bolting out of the flames, the rebels gave a horrible yell, and the women, who accompanied them in great numbers, would exult with savage joy on the occasion, shouting out, *Down with the Orangemen, down with the heretics*. This shows the turn the rebellion had taken even at the very commencement. Accordingly they murdered, in a barbarous manner, two protestant gentlemen of the names of Stammers and Brewer, the latter usefully engaged in the cotton manufacture, and an old man who had been a sergeant in the king's army. The rest of the protestant inhabitants would, in all probability, have been also murdered, had not the rebels been terrified at the approach of some yeomen cavalry, and a part of the Armagh militia, in pursuit of some insurgents, whom they had repulsed in their attack at Cloine, a place three miles from Prosperous.

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Treachery
of catholic
yeomanry.

The terrified loyalists now, men, women and children, having abandoned their possessions, flocked towards Naas, as a place of safety, as did also the troops who retreated from the inferior posts. Among these was the Clains yeoman cavalry, commanded by captain Griffith, of which doctor Esmond was first lieutenant. On the morning of the twenty-fourth this troop arrived at Naas, having been previously joined by Doctor Esmond, fully dressed and accoutred, and seemingly unconscious of the affair of Prosperous. But the captain, who had got information of his guilt, had him arrested and sent to Dublin, where he was some time after found guilty by a court-martial and hanged on Carlisle-bridge. It appears from undoubted authority that, in the course of the rebellion, a great part of the catholic yeomanry, probably the majority of them, as well in the county of Kildare, as in the adjacent counties, broke through their solemn engagements and joined the rebels, or at least were connected with the society of the United Irishmen. Their names and numbers have been particularly stated, and no contradiction has been attempted by even their most sanguine abettors.*

1798
Proclama-
tions.

As soon as it appeared that hostilities had openly commenced against government, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation on the twenty-fourth of May, giving notice, that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish, according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons acting or assisting in the rebellion; and general Lake, successor of Abercrombie, who had resigned, issued another, setting forth his determination to exert, in the most summary manner, the powers with which he was entrusted. These discretionary powers, committed to the military, they had unfortunately too many opportunities to exercise.

Attack of
Carlow.

The attack on the town of Carlow was succeeded by some incidents of this kind, of which it may be necessary to take notice. The garrison, which consisted of four hundred and fifty men, under colonel Mahon of the ninth dragoons, having got intelligence of the intended attack of the rebels, made suitable preparations for resistance. The plan of the rebels was, that different parties should assail the town from

* See Musgrave, *passim*. Mr Gordon cautiously conceals this fact; but he takes every opportunity to aggravate all the faults of the royal troops.

different quarters at once, but this plan was not executed in concert, so that only one column, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, which had assembled in front of Sir Edward Crosbie's house, a mile and a half distant, made the attempt on the twenty-fourth of May, at two o'clock in the morning. Rushing in confusion with vain confidence, and giving a barbarous yell, as they proceeded into Tullow-street, and a shout *that the town was their own*, they received there so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and attempted a retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, they took refuge in the houses which were immediately set on fire, and then numbers, on bolting out, were put to death by the military, and others consumed in the flames. Of the rest, who took different routes, some were shot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows, and others pursued and killed by the soldiers and yeomanry, so that the streets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were strewed with carcasses, which were so numerous that evening and the entire of the next day was taken up in burying them. About four hundred of these unfortunate wretches thus lost their lives, while not one of the loyalists was even wounded.

Executions now commenced, which were, alas ! too numerous at this dismal period. In a short time two hundred were put to death by martial law, and among the earliest of these victims was sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled previous to their attack on Carlow, which had a suspicious appearance, though he did not proceed along with them. He was a gentleman of an amiable disposition, but being accustomed to express great pity for the distresses of the Irish peasantry, and to declare himself a zealous advocate for a parliamentary reform, he was on that account considered by the zealous loyalists as a republican.* In fact, his general conduct served to strengthen such a suspicion, which tended to prejudice the military officers against him. He was tried for being a United Irishman, and, of course some what implicated in the rebellion, but the mode of conducting the trial was certainly

Execution
of sir Ed-
ward Cros-
bie.

* Sir Richard Musgrave, in his third edition, acknowledges candidly that he was mistaken with respect to his principles.

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iniquitous. Catholic prisoners, as we are told,* were compelled by torture to give evidence against him, and loyal protestants who came forward as witnesses in his favour were prevented by the bayonets of the military from entering the court. His conviction, of course, soon took place, and the execution of the sentence was equally precipitate. He was hanged at an unusual hour, and his head was cut off and fixed on a pike. The only excuse for those concerned in this unhappy affair is, that, in the rage of a rebellion, they were hurried to violent acts by passion and prejudice, without having leisure to examine deliberately the grounds for the malicious stories they heard.

Various
operations.

On the same morning of the attack on Carlow, another was made on Hacketstonn with the same success. About two hundred of the rebels were killed, while hardly one of the loyalists was wounded. Such exertions were made to resist them on the southern side of Dublin, where they were most numerous, and on the northern, the same energy was displayed by the loyal troops. A large body of rebels having assembled on the hill of Tara, in the county of Meath, they were attacked on the twenty-sixth by a detachment of the Rea fencibles and yeomanry, amounting to four hundred men, and completely routed, with the loss of three hundred and fifty of them found dead in the field of battle, together with their leader, dressed in his uniform. Of the victorious party nine were killed and sixteen wounded. On this occasion, as well as on every other during the rebellion, Lord Fingal's troop of yeomenry cavalry distinguished themselves by their strenuous defence of the king and constitution.

Rash affair
at the
Curragh.

Thus, on the northern side, a communication was opened with the capital, which was rather in a state of blockade. A service of a similar kind on the western side was effected by sir James Duff, who marched rapidly from Limerick to Kildare with a body of six hundred men. As he was passing through the Curragh, the famous race course, on the

* The proceedings are detailed in a pamphlet styled, "A Narrative of the apprehension, trial, and execution of sir Edward William Cresbie, baronet."

twenty-ninth, he perceived a body of rebels in a Danish fort, who had assembled for the professed purpose of surrendering, according to an agreement with general Dundas, who had previously accepted, by authority, the submission of a large party, after his defeat of the insurgents at Kilkullen. Sir James, being apprized of their intention, having disposed his army in order of battle, sent a serjeant and twelve men, desiring them to surrender their arms quietly; but one of them having fired his musket, which was considered as an act of hostility, the whole body was attacked and routed, and pursued with great slaughter by a company of cavalry called *Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters*. About two hundred insurgents were thus slain, and many more would have shared the same fate, had not the military been stopped by an express from general Dundas. On this occasion Mr Williamson, a clergyman of the established church, was on the point of being put to death through mistake. Having fallen into the hands of the rebels, and being preserved by the humanity of a catholic priest, the soldiery supposed, as his life was spared, that he himself was a rebel, and were proceeding instantly to hang him, when they were, in a critical moment, prevented by the interference of his brother-in-law, colonel Sankey.

General Dundas, indeed, exerted himself, to his eternal honour, to suppress the rebellion with as little bloodshed as possible, and to bring the unfortunate insurgents to a sense of their error, rather by persuasion than by arms. But the humanity of this general, so conspicuous at this calamitous period, was frequently imposed on by the duplicity of the rebels, for many of them who had, on professing their submission, received his protection, instantly abused the indulgence allowed them, and joining the other insurgents without delay, were afterwards found among the slain, with his protection in their pockets.

At the time different bodies of insurgents were making attacks in the places above mentioned, other parties of them made attempts of a similar nature in the county of Wicklow. On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, a body of about four or five hundred rebels attacked the town of Stratford on Slaney, near Baltinglass, but were assailed on

CHAP. different sides by a few of the Antrim militia, ninth dra-
XXIII. goons, and yeomanry, and completely routed, with the loss of a hundred slain. Early in the morning, on the twenty-ninth, the town of Newtown Mount-Kennedy was suddenly attacked by about a thousand rebels, who were opposed by the small garrison, consisting of a hundred and forty of the Antrim militia, Ancient Britons, and yeomanry, by whom a spirited resistance was made, though forty of the latter had got their arms but the day before. After repelling firmly the first onset, which was very violent, they obliged them to fly, and many were killed in the pursuit, which continued for some hours. In their flight the rebels dropped some hundreds of pikes to facilitate their escape. In this engagement a captain of the Ancient Britons was killed, two lieutenants of the yeomanry and several privates wounded.

The county of Wicklow, previous to the introduction of the principles of the United Irishmen, was remarkably peaceable and amenable to the laws, which were strictly executed by means of the gentlemen of landed property residing on their estates. The condition of the farmers was comfortable, and the labourers, from the accommodation they received at a small rate, appeared satisfied with their situation. Tithes were not complained of as a grievance, and religious animosities between papists and protestants seemed extinct. The Defenders could never obtain a permanent footing in that county, nor could the United Irishmen, with all their efforts, induce the people to engage in their rebellious designs till they prevailed on the popish priests, in the year 1796, to lend their spiritual aid for that purpose. Hence a visible alteration took place in the manners of the people; hence a spirit of disaffection spread rapidly over the county, which the strenuous exertions of the resident magistrates could not suppress, till it at last burst out in the rebellious acts already noted.

Enissaries of disaffec- The present rebellion, it appears, was hatched by the
 tion. presbyterians in the north, especially by those in the town of Belfast. In the original designs of the United Irishmen the catholics had certainly no concern; and when these designs were at length brought to some maturity,

and a directory appointed, in this directory there was only one catholic, Dr M'Nevin, who declared positively against the establishment of even his own religion. As for the other members of the directory, whatsoever their professions might be, they may be supposed to have had the same religious principles as the French republicans, the objects of their admiration. The United Irishmen, being sensible of their inability to accomplish their purpose, without the co-operation of the catholics, resolved to bring them over to their side, by touching them on that point in which they were most tender. They continually alarmed them with apprehensions of persecution on account of their religion. Hence they sent emissaries through every part of the country, assuring them, that the Orangemen had formed a plot to rise up at night, and murder them in their beds. These emissaries passed also through the counties of Wicklow, Kildare, Wexford, and the adjacent counties, where no Orangemen existed, and where the name was hardly known. In many places the catholics, deceived by this false rumour, left their houses at night through terror, and lay in the fields. The design of spreading it was to give them an abhorrence of government, who were supposed to favour the Orangemen, and to have employed them for their destruction.

Such schemes would have been ineffectual without the influence of the priests, who, it is to be supposed, were prevailed on with little difficulty to lend their powerful aid in exciting disaffection. This was owned by the principal conspirators, in their confession before the secret committee of the house of lords; for they acknowledged that the catholic priests promoted the cause of the union with discreet zeal. In Leinster, and indeed in all the other provinces, except in Ulster, the insurgents were in general catholics, and it was observed, that, before they rose in rebellion, they were accustomed to go oftener than usual to confession, and seemed always ready to take the oath of allegiance when offered to them, to which they were openly urged by their priests, who used frequently to whisper to them on such occasions. When the rebellion commenced in Leinster, their virulent animosity, so long restrained,

Applica-
tions to
priests.

C H A P. burst out, like a stream long pent, with excessive violence, **XXIII.** against the protestants, whom they denominated all Orangemen, though there were few or none there, in order to afford some excuse for their cruel massacres and other atrocious acts. Thus the rebellion, which was caused by political motives in Ulster, turned out to be entirely religious in Leinster. It must, however, be owned, that the catholic gentry and merchants were in general loyal, and that many priests were not implicated in the plot.*

Persecu- As soon as the rebellion burst out, roving parties of the
tion of pro- rebels spread themselves over the country, and murdered
testants. the protestants in the county of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and the adjacent counties of Leinster. In the village of Rathangan, in the county of Kildare, nineteen protestants were murdered. Some women also shared the same fate, as Mrs Manders and her two sisters; though the rebels did not generally put women to death. The circumstances of barbarity with which these massacres were attended, the sufferings of the unhappy victims, the tortures inflicted, and the cruel insults of their savage murderers, would shock the feelings of the reader minutely to relate. Beside the injury committed on their persons, the property of protestants was destroyed; their houses were burned in the same district, especially all near the roads on which the rebels passed; so that the country appeared in flames for a wide extent. They burned the charter-school of Castlecarrberry in the county of Kildare, which, of course, was a particular object of their abhorrence. The protestant clergy of that county were obliged to fly from their houses, and fortunately effected their escape. Such were the cruelties inflicted, and such the sufferings endured, but a more horrid scene is yet to be exhibited.

State of the In no part of Leinster did the inhabitants enjoy so equal
county of a portion of social happiness as the county of Wexford.
Wexford. Agriculture was in a flourishing state, and was very much served by a sea coast of a remarkable extent, affording

* At this time a very loyal address, containing excellent advice, was published by many of the catholic nobility, gentry, and clergy, "to the deluded people of their persuasion, now in rebellion against his Majesty's government."

sand and sea-weed, a very productive manure. The commerce naturally attached to a sea coast was rendered still more convenient by several navigable rivers opening a conveyance both for foreign goods and the productions of the soil. Fish and sea-fowl were cheap and plenty, the country was orderly, and the laws enforced, occasioned, with many other benefits, by the residence of gentlemen on their estates. All these circumstances induced strangers at different times to take up their residence in this county, and, in particular, many English families, whose example of industry and decency was of peculiar advantage. Both farmers and peasants having, therefore, just reason to be contented with their respective conditions, the county of Wexford was in general remarkable for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants, and for many years was not disgraced by such nocturnal acts of robbery and assassination as were committed by Defenders and United Irishmen in several other counties.*

At length an alteration took place for the worse, and these fair prospects were clouded. In the year 1797 it too evidently appeared, that the great body of the people were infected with those noxious principles of the United Irishmen, that were afterwards productive of such calamity. There was good reason to suspect that pikes had been manufactured, and clubs formed where illegal oaths were administered. It was perceived by some magistrates of discernment, that the lower orders of the people were unwilling to pay their debts or fulfil any engagements, that they appeared surly when called on to do so, and on such occasions would hint, when angry or drunk, that they would soon have an opportunity of being revenged. They were also seen to remain longer than usual at fairs and markets, and in public houses, and frequently to consult together in whispers.

These extraordinary appearances caused a meeting of magistrates to be held at Gorey in November 1797, in order to consult on the measures necessary to be adopted. At this meeting a diversity of sentiments prevailed, but it was

* In 1793 there was however a riot of some extent in this county about fithes. Hay, p. 21, &c.

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carried by a majority, that a memorial should be transmitted to government, desiring nineteen parishes to be proclaimed. To this proceeding the earl of Mountnorris and seven other magistrates objected, and therefore the priests of those parishes, with their congregations, had an address presented to his lordship, expressing their concern at being suspected for disloyalty and disaffection, and, in order to remove the imputation, requesting his lordship to receive their oaths of allegiance, and assure the government of their firm attachment to the constitution, in hopes that the memorial may be rendered ineffectual. Accordingly this nobleman, with the seven other magistrates, met them at their respective chapels, where they swore the oath of allegiance prescribed, both priests and people, denying most solemnly to have any arms in their possession, or to have any connection with the United Irishmen. On occasions of this kind the priests usually made harangues from their altars, condemning the outrages committed by such disturbers, exhorting their people to loyalty, and expatiating on the virtues of their sovereign and the excellence of the constitution.

Many other priests with their congregations exhibited similar tokens of loyalty, and the public notices of some magistrates, exhorting the people to come in to take oaths of allegiance, to confess their errors, and accept the protection offered, appeared to have the desired effect. For in consequence of this salutary advice the several congregations, with their priests, attended the magistrates at their respective chapels, took the oath of allegiance, confessed their errors, delivered up their pikes in great numbers, declaring solemnly they had no more, told the names of the blacksmiths who made them, and mentioned the committees before whom they had sworn the oath of the United Irishmen. After having shown such strong marks of compunction, they of course received protections from the magistrates. The meetings of this sort were continued in the county of Wexford, during the year 1798, until the very evening before the rebellion broke out, and the magistrates at that time vaunted on the success of the measures they had adopted, declaring that the deluded peasantry, seduced by baneful arts, had at length come to a sense of their error.

Thus, by the most profound disimulation, and the most solemn protestations upon oath, was the government and the magistrates lulled into a fatal security, and prevented from adopting such precautionary modes of preparation as were necessary to defeat the nefarious schemes designed for their destruction. When the rebellion broke out in the county of Wexford there was hardly in the whole county five hundred regular troops, beside yeomanry and supplementaries, a species of yeomanry without uniform, and but slightly acquainted with discipline. There was not one Orangeman in it till after the arrival of the North-Cork militia, under Lord Kingsborough, which took place on the 26th of April 1798. So that the scheme of insurrection was planned there, and was nearly ready for execution before any provocation was given by Orangemen. Some of the North-Cork militia exhibited, it is true, orange devices, and probably some of the yeomanry annexed themselves to the institution for the following sufficient reason, that as the United Irishmen had bound themselves under solemn obligations to overturn the established constitution, they were entitled to bind themselves under obligations to resist their attempts. In that case the Orange system was a system of self-defence, and not justly liable to the severe epithets applied to it by the disaffected. In the above-mentioned county military punishment was seldom used. The North Cork militia might indeed have applied the pitched cap, or some like species of chastisement to a few offenders whose guilt was universally known, but it is owned by a writer, who may be considered in some degree as an apologist for the rebels, “that no floggings took place in the town of “Wexford,” a scene afterwards of such atrocity, and “that “the floggings in the county of Wexford were almost no- “thing comparatively with other counties, but the people “were so determined on insurrection, that it could not other- “wise have been prevented than by a proper disposition of “a large military force”.* It is also owned by the same writer “that there was an apparently passive submission,† in that county, previous to the eruption of the

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion, second edition p. 103, 105, 106.

† Hay (p. 16) says “Gordon's relation deserves the utmost credit.”

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Insurrection.

The insurrection there did not take place till Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth of May, and was begun by a noted character, father John Murphy of Boulavogue chapel, in the parish of Kilcormuck, an assistant curate in the catholic church, who collected his followers by lighting up fires on adjacent hills. The standard of rebellion he hoisted that evening at Boulavogue, between Gorey and Wexford, and thence the doctor, for he was a doctor of divinity, set out on his operations. Intelligence of this nocturnal assembly being communicated to lieutenant Bookey of the Camolin yeomen cavalry, he boldly set out with a part of his troop to oppose them, and meeting them, he ordered them to surrender, to which Murphy replied in defiance, "come on you heretic dog." In the attack the lieutenant, being unsupported by his men, was slain, with one of his associates. His house was also set on fire that night, and the houses of all the protestants in the parish. In return for which Murphy's own house, and the houses of a few other rebels were burned by the yeomanry, and some rebels put to death, whom they overtook that night in arms. The morning of the next day, being Whitsunday, the twenty-seventh of May, exhibited many houses in flames or consumed, and other dismal appearances of the work in which the rebels were employed the night before.

Murder of two clergy-men

The house of the reverend doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, was attacked this morning by a party of rebels under father Murphy. For some time it was bravely defended, but the rebels having first set fire to the office-house and then to the glebe-house itself, doctor Burrowes with his defenders were unable to continue in it, and on receiving a positive promise from Murphy that they would not be injured if they surrendered, they then came out of the house, but, in violation of the promise, this clergyman, with seven of his parishioners, was murdered. Different acts of atrocity of a similar kind were committed on the same day by Murphy and his associates.

On the same morning another clergyman of the established church met with a similar fate, the reverend Francis

Turner, rector of Edermine, of Ballengale, near Ferns. A party of rebels having attacked his house, it was defended for some time with success, but at last Mr Turner was disabled by a shot he received on the neck, and afterwards was murdered, with five of his protestant parishioners. His dwelling-house and offices were then set on fire, and the bodies of the deceased consumed in the flames. He was a clergyman of great benevolence, of amiable manners, and of a mind well cultivated with useful and elegant learning, but all these were not sufficient to allay the fury of a bigotted and fanatical rabble. The principal leader in this atrocious affair was Michael Keogh, his own proctor, who had been raised by his generosity from poverty to affluence.

Two bodies of rebels appeared now on the hills called Oulart and Kiltomas, the former, ten miles to the north of Wexford, the latter, nine to the west of Gorey. To dis-lodge these from their posts, two detachments of the royal troops were sent, but with very different success. A body of yeomanry, of about two hundred and fifty, having attacked the insurgents on Kiltomas, they fled in a panic, after some distant volleys of musketry, though they might have surrounded and slain the assailants. A hundred and fifty were killed in the pursuit, and a hundred cabins, and two Roman catholic chapels were burned by the yeomen in a march of seven miles.

The attack on the rebels at Oulart was attended with a very different effect. A hundred and nine picked men of the North Cork militia proceeded against them, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, and in their march they were joined by sixteen yeomen cavalry, the rest of the troop, who were catholics, having deserted that morning with their serjeant to the rebels, a case very usual at that time. On their arrival at the hill of Oulart, the militia found about four thousand rebels under the command of father John Murphy, and having boldly attacked them, they at first retreated with precipitation, but when their pursuers attained the top of the hill breathless and in confusion, a body of three hundred rebels, led on by father Murphy himself, turning suddenly about, charged them

CHAP. with their pikes with such effect that the whole detachment
XXII. was slain, except the lieutenant-colonel, a serjeant, and
 three privates, with the loss, on the side of the rebels, of
 only three killed and six wounded.

Attack of
 Enniscor-
 thy.

While the dismal appearance was exhibited of houses in flames, and of unhappy loyalists flying to the towns for shelter, the bands of Murphy, flushed with success, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, marched from Oulart to Camolin, where they found a quantity of fire-arms, which had been sent by earl Mountnorris for the use of his yeomen. From Camolin, they proceeded to Ferns, their numbers continually increasing, and thence, in pursuit of the fugitive loyalists to Enniscorthy, a town situate on both sides of the river Slaney. Before this town they appeared at four o'clock in the afternoon, in number about seven thousand, of whom eight hundred carried fire-arms, part of which were obtained in the manner already mentioned. In the town, there was a garrison of nearly three hundred men, consisting of militia, yeomen infantry, and cavalry, beside some volunteers. When the rebels were discovered to advance towards the western side of the town, driving before them a number of horses and other cattle to disorder their opponents, a stratagem practised before, the yeomen infantry marched boldly out to meet them, and were attacked by them in a furious but irregular manner, with a loud and savage yell, like the Indian war-whoop, as was their custom on such occasions. Perceiving that the rebels extended their wings in order to surround them, the yeomen retreated, and in small parties occupied the different avenues leading to the town, which they defended with great spirit, but were unsupported by the North Cork militia, who took possession of the bridge, a position that they would not leave, but for a very short time. Assailed by such multitudes, the yeomen were unable to sustain them alone, and retreated to the market-house, where they made a stand. A disorderly fight was now maintained in the town, in which many houses were set on fire by the disloyal inhabitants, who also fired at the garrison from their windows. Some even set their own houses on fire in order to favour the rebels. Involved in the smoke of the burning houses, the

yeomen could not perceive the enemy till they attacked them with their pikes. The rebels now made several attempts to ford the river, both above and below the bridge, but were galled by the fire of the North Cork militia, whose position at the bridge had at that time a useful effect. However, they proceeded to parts of the river out of the reach of their fire, and succeeded in wading across it, some being up to the middle, and others to the neck in water. They then set some more houses on fire, and the brave yeomen now found it expedient, after a gallant defence of three hours, to retreat to Wexford, having lost about ninety, including three officers, in killed and wounded. Of the North Cork militia, however, only one serjeant and six privates were killed, and not an officer was hurt. The rebels, it is supposed, lost three hundred at least.

In setting out on their retreat the garrison was obliged to pass through the flames of the burning houses, as were also those who accompanied them, being the loyal inhabitants of the town, and some others who had fled thither for protection. The weather being calm, they were enabled to get through the flames with less injury; yet, certainly, they were objects of compassion, a confused multitude flying for their lives, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, almost all on foot, and leaving all their effects in the hands of their enemies. Many ladies of affluent fortune, accustomed to the ease and indulgence enjoyed by persons of that station, were obliged to escape in the manner above stated, with their children on their backs, to the town of Wexford, fourteen English miles from Enniscorthy. Some who were too feeble to walk, would have been left on the road, had not the yeomen cavalry indulged them with the use of their horses. Those who found it impossible to make their escape from the town, took a melancholy farewell of their friends, having a dismal foresight of the fate that awaited them.

The rebels, on entering the town, set fire to every house belonging to a protestant of any distinction, and massacred such as they met with either in the houses or the streets. These generally were old infirm men, and some of these, with women and children, escaped into the adjacent woods;

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of which the rebels being informed, sent parties in search of them. The men not immediately butchered were confined, and reserved for future massacre. Early next morning the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill, a mountain quite close to the town, which was afterwards a scene of atrocious deeds.

**Alarm at
Wexford.**

In the mean while the hapless fugitives arrived at Wexford, whence the smoke of Enniscorthy was discovered, in which nearly five hundred houses and cabins were consumed. Wexford, however, they by no means found a place of safety. Since the commencement of the rebellion it was in continual alarm, and especially after the slaughter of the North Cork militia at Oulart. Every suitable preparation was made by the garrison for defence, and an attempt was also made to prevent, by persuasion, the approach of the rebels. Three gentlemen of the county being then in jail, arrested on private information, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Edward Fitzgerald, the two latter were prevailed on by some officers to proceed to Enniscorthy, on the twenty-ninth day of May, in order to persuade the rebels to disperse unconditionally, and return in peace to their several houses. They found them encamped on Vinegar-hill, but their advice, whether or not urged with sufficient zeal, had not the desired effect, for they formed the resolution of marching immediately to attack Wexford, and retaining Fitzgerald as their leader, who seemed to have no objection to his appointment, they dismissed Colclough, with the intelligence, who was desirous of returning according to his engagement. The rebels now proceeded to put their designs into execution, for they took post that night on the eminence of Three Rocks, a ridge of a mountain lying on the road between Duncannon fort and Wexford, and two miles and a half distant from that town.

Early in that morning a reinforcement of two hundred men of the Donegal militia, under colonel Maxwell, had arrived at Waterford from Duncannon fort, and on a request being speedily conveyed for an additional reinforcement, an answer was returned by general Fawcett, the commander of the fort, that he would, that very evening, march

himself with the thirteenth regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. This intelligence raised the spirits of the garrison and loyalists of Wexford, but a sad disappointment occurred. General Fawcet, according to promise, marched with his whole force from the fort, but having stopped at Tagmon that night, seven miles from Wexford, he sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of captain Adams of the Meath militia. Unfortunately the detachment on the thirtieth, at the dawn of day, was intercepted, under Three Rocks, by the rebel army, the howitzers taken, and almost the whole party slain. On hearing of this disaster general Fawcet retreated precipitately to Duncannon.

About the very hour it took place, colonel Maxwell of the Donegal militia, commander of the garrison of Wexford, had taken post with all the force he could spare on the windmill hill above the town, in order, on the arrival of general Fawcet, to co-operate with him against the rebels. But he was soon informed of the disaster, by two officers who had escaped the slaughter, and then he boldly marched forward, with an intent to retake the howitzers, and meet general Fawcet on his march, having no suspicion of his retreat. On being disappointed in his expectations he was obliged to return to Wexford, having lost colonel Watson by a shot from the outposts of the rebels, an officer of distinguished valour and skill.

Confusion and dismay now prevailed among the loyalists in the town, surrounded as they were by enemies, some of whom had early that morning set the beautiful wooden bridge over the river Slaney on fire, but it was extinguished without much injury. On the return of the military a council of war was held, and a resolution formed, of immediately evacuating the town. Harvey then, at the request of the officers, wrote a letter to the rebels entreating them to act with humanity. This letter, two gentlemen of the name of Richards, belonging to a corps of yeomanry, undertook to deliver, a dangerous task, and to announce to the insurgents the surrender of the town. Scarcely had these deputies set out on their mission when the military, some yeo-
Evacuated
by the
king's army

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manry excepted, left the town in a disorderly manner, without even waiting in many cases for the regular orders of their officers. Their departure was so speedy and unexpected, that the whole garrison was gone away before the inhabitants had any knowledge of their design. Hence many were left to the mercy of the rebels, as were also a few of the armed yeomanry, who would have accompanied the troops in their retreat to Duncannon. Their course towards this fort, distant seventeen miles from Wexford, was very disorderly, and distinguished by the burning of houses and shooting of unarmed peasants, a practice too frequent with some of the soldiery, but of which the yeomanry on that occasion were not guilty.

Possessed
by the
rebels.

The deputies above mentioned reached the rebels in safety, and their chiefs consented that the lives and properties of the townsmen should be protected, provided that the arms and ammunition were delivered into their hands. A leader having come with this proposal, he found the town abandoned by the troops, and no stores of that kind remaining, of which, when the rebels were informed they were excited to fury, and were eager for massacre and conflagration, but were at present dissuaded by their chiefs. Apprehensive of their immediate approach, a number of fugitives, in hopes of making their escape, got on board some vessels in the harbour, in which they were admitted at a great expense, and the few yeomanry remaining put off their uniform in a hurry, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water, or ran for boats to be conveyed away. Immediately the insurgents poured over the wooden bridge in thousands into the town, shouting and exulting at their success, and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant joy. They first proceeded to the jail, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Harvey should be their commander. All the houses in the town, not deserted by the inhabitants, were now decorated with green boughs, and other symbols of insurgency. The doors were generally thrown open, and refreshment offered to the rebels, which prevented a greater injury being received; for the houses of all those who did not make such offers were plundered, as were also the houses of all loyal protestants, whether absent or present. Those who had

hoped to make their escape by sea were in general disappointed, as the vessels in the harbour containing them, on receiving an order from the rebels, returned all to the shore, except two, and landed their unhappy prisoners again, after the exorbitant fare they had paid.

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Such were the transactions in the southern part of the county. In the northern, about Gorey, even before any rebels appeared in arms, great trepidation prevailed among the loyalists, who, in the morning of the twenty-eighth of May, fled in a body, men, women, and children, to Arklow, where they met with but a cold reception. A great quantity of goods left behind in Gorey by the protestants of the town, and fugitives, presented a tempting object for depredation, and while the decent catholics continued within their houses, an army of women assembled for that purpose, but suddenly dispersed on receiving the groundless information of a Welsh regiment of cavalry approaching. Finding that no rebels had yet entered the town, the greater number of the protestants returned to Gorey in three days, but on the first of June they were in danger of being surprised, for a body of a thousand rebels, on their march towards the town, were defeated at four miles distance by a small band of yeomen and militia, under the command of lieutenant Elliot of the Antrim regiment. A short respite was thus afforded.

Proceed-
ings at
Gorey.

On the very same day a body of four thousand rebels, led on by several chiefs, among whom father Kern, a priest of extraordinary stature and ferocity, was most conspicuous, proceeded from Vinegar-hill up the river Slaney, along both its banks, towards the village of Newtownbarry, the object of their attack, situate on the western side, and distant ten miles from Enniscorthy. The garrison, including yeomen and volunteers, consisted of about five hundred men, under the command of colonel Lestrangle of the King's county militia, of whom there were three hundred. In opposition to the earnest remonstrance of the yeomen officers, the colonel ordered the troops to abandon the town, and immediately the rebels rushed in, but not without some resistance from a few determined loyalists who still remained, and fired at them from some houses. To the assistance of these

Attack of
Newtown-
barry.

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Battle of
Clough.

the garrison soon returned, at the solicitations of lieutenant-colonel Westenra, who thought the flight inglorious, and assailed the rebels unprepared, engaged in plunder, confused and intoxicated, and routed them with great slaughter. About four hundred were killed, among whom were found two priests dressed in their vestments. Had the rebels succeeded they would have opened a way for themselves into the county of Carlow, and thus extended the rebellion.

The possession of Gorey, however, in the north of the county of Wexford, was one of their principal objects, as they might thus force a passage to the capital, where great numbers, well supplied with arms and ammunition, were just ready to join them. Being disappointed in their first attempt on Gorey by a party of the Antrim militia, they resolved to make a second, and with this intent a very large body, under the command of a priest called Philip Roche, took possession of the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles from that town. Against these were sent an army of fifteen hundred men under general Loftus and colonel Walpole, who arrived at Gorey on the third of June, and of course raised the spirits of the dejected loyalists of the place. On the next day these leaders marched with two divisions by two parallel roads, with an intent to co-operate with troops from other quarters, in an attack on the post of Corrigrua; but father Roche, being informed of their design, quitted his post, and proceeding with his whole force, about fifteen thousand men, directly towards Gorey, met half way colonel Walpole's division alone. Walpole was a man possessed of little military skill, confident and vain-glorious, and unwilling to take any advice. Hence he marched in seeming security, without scouts or flanking parties, and knew nothing of the enemy till they appeared within a few yards distance, at a place called Tubberneering, near the church of Clough. At once his troops were assailed from both sides of the road by a tremendous fire, and he himself, being a fair mark, mounted on a fine grey charger, and in full uniform, was in a few minutes shot through the head. Immediately the whole detachment was routed, and pursued to Gorey, through which they passed in confusion, being galled by the fire from some houses possessed by re-

bels, and hence retreated to Arklow, having lost about forty by this defeat, with all their artillery, being three pieces of cannon. To this same town the unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, who thought themselves perfectly secure a few hours before, set out in trepidation with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

General Loftus, who marched by the other parallel road, hearing, during the engagement, the noise of battle, detached seventy men of the Antrim militia by a cross road to Walpole's aid, but these were almost all either killed or taken. Ignorant of that officer's fate, the general, who could not get his cannon across the fields, continued his march along the road till he arrived, by a circuitous rout, at the field of battle, where he found Walpole's body, with others of his men, lying naked. He then followed toward Gorey the rebel army, which took a position on a hill over the town, and fired at him with the cannon they had taken. Perceiving, on observation, that he could neither attack their post, nor pass by it to Arklow, with any probability of success, he retreated to Carnew, and thence to Tullow in the county of Carlow, leaving a large tract of country at the mercy of the rebels.

Harvey, being appointed generalissimo on the surrender of Wexford, the rebel forces of that quarter were divided into two main bodies, one of which directed its course westward to Gorey, and was enabled to effect its object; the other, under the command of Harvey himself, proceeded northward in order to attempt the conquest of New Ross. This town is situated on a large navigable river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow, whose streams unite about a mile above it. The rebels, at the very commencement of the insurrection, saw the advantage of possessing it, as they might thus have an open communication with the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, where many thousands were ready to rise at their first appearance among them. It was therefore strenuously urged by a rebel chief to take possession of it on the twenty-ninth of May, when that could have been effected without opposition, but it was recommended by another to defer that object till the prisoners in Wexford were released, and very fortunately his

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Retreat of
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advice was followed. As soon as this was accomplished, the body under Harvey marched towards Ross, and encamped on Carrickburn-mountain, within six miles of that town. On perceiving this movement of the rebels, a large detachment of the royal troops was immediately placed in Ross, and a seasonable reinforcement was added on the fourth of June, by which the whole garrison amounted to twelve hundred men.

Battle of
Ross.

On the evening of the same day the rebel army advanced from Carrickburn to Corbet-hill, within a mile of that town, towards which there is a gradual descent all the way. On their march they stopped at a chapel where mass was said by different priests, who thus lent the sanctity of religion to the support of the *pious* cause they had espoused. Early in the morning of the fifth, the day designed for the attack, a flag of truce was sent by Harvey to the commander of the garrison requiring the surrender of the town; but the person who carried it, called Furlong, was shot by a sentinel of one of the out-posts, an act of which the propriety has been questioned. At five o'clock in the morning a body of about five thousand rebels advanced towards the town, some armed with muskets, the rest with pikes, having a few pieces of cannon, and as they moved on, a number of priests dressed in their vestments, and with crucifixes in their hands, went through the ranks, and, by their animating harangues, roused them to an enthusiastic ardour for combat. Urged on by such motives, and inflamed by intoxication, a large column of rebels assailed with fury the different out-posts of the royal army at the end of the town, and repelled them with great ease. Encouraged by this success, and joined by many others equally fierce and violent, they continued the assault, attacked the main body, forced back the cavalry with slaughter on the infantry, seized the artillery, and drove the troops to the bridge and the opposite side of the river. Having now got possession of a part of the town, they stopped a while for plunder, which increased their intoxication, and gave respite from attack to some other columns of the king's army. In the difficulty of his situation general Johnson, the commander of this army, an officer of true courage and military skill, exerted him-

self with great energy, pointed cannon at the several streets, and saw them served with effect, gave his orders with coolness, directed every movement, was present himself every where, and rallied the discomfited troops. On this trying occasion he derived peculiar aid from the exertions of a townsman named M'Cormick, who had formerly served in the army, and was very striking in his appearance, as he was a man of a lofty stature, and had a brazen helmet on his head. During the engagement he was very active, ran from place to place, and brought back to the charge, along with Johnson, the troops that had fled over the river; who recovered their post, and drove the rebels out of the town, where the suburbs were in flames, set on fire by their adherents. Rallied by their chiefs, the rebels returned with fury to the assault, and regained the same ground. Again were they repelled, and again were they rallied, but at last they were finally repulsed, at two o'clock in the afternoon, after an engagement of nine hours' continuance.

It was supposed that not more than one half of the rebels descended from the hill where they were encamped, but those who engaged were remarkable for their intrepidity and enthusiasm, so much so, that when whole ranks of them fell, others would immediately supply their place, and court their fate by rushing on the royal troops. Hence a great number were slain, it is thought nearly two thousand, and of his majesty's army about three hundred. On the very first attack fell lord Mountjoy,* colonel of the Dublin militia, a nobleman of a cultivated mind. In their flight the rebels left their cannon behind them, one of which, during the engagement, was managed, through compulsion, by an artillery man of the royal army, a prisoner, who was shot for aiming too high.

On the same day of this battle, an atrocious act was committed, probably the most atrocious of those for which this unhappy period was distinguished. Though many helpless protestants were put to death by roving parties of

Massacre
of Scullabogue.

It is remarkable of Lord Montjoy, and Lord O'Neill, who both fell in this rebellion of 1798, that when they were both commoners, the former introduced, and the latter seconded the first bill for the relief of the Roman catholics.

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the rebels, yet a greater number were taken and put in confinement for future purposes. Above two hundred of these, men, women and children were confined in a barn at Sculabogue, within half a mile of Carrickburn-mountain, on which the rebels had their encampment. On their march towards New Ross, the prisoners were left under a guard of three hundred men, commanded by one John Murphy, a rebel captain, and during the late engagement, when the rebels began to give way, an express was sent to the leader to put the protestant prisoners to death. Such an order he resisted twice, but being informed the third time that a priest positively directed him to do it, his scruples were then overcome, and the inferior rebels, on hearing of such a sanction, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes the better to be prepared for the bloody deed. Thirty-seven protestants were now shot or piked without side the barn, and the rest, an hundred and eighty-four in number, were crammed into it, and the barn being set on fire by bundles of straw, they were all burned alive. The sight of the carcasses the next day was very disgusting to the feelings of those who beheld the horrid scene. In this atrocious deed, or others of the same kind, no catholic gentleman, merchant, or person of liberal education was at all concerned. Priests indeed are accused, and one in particular is mentioned, as "a chief instigator of this horrible deed."* But the scholastic learning they acquired, and the company they kept at the foreign universities, instead of removing, tended rather to confirm and increase their prejudices.

Inactivity
of rebels.

Struck with horror at this atrocious act, and having lost his authority on account of his religion, Harvey resigned his command, and retired to Wexford. On the day after the battle the rebels resumed their former post on Carrick-mountain, where they continued two days, and thence removed to a hill called Slyeeve-Keelter, rising over the river Ross, formed by the united streams of the Nore and Barrow. Of this hill, which is situated below the town of Ross, they took possession, with an intent to intercept the navigation between that town, Duncannon and Waterford. In

* Gordon's History of the rebellion, second edition, page 146.

order to prevent them from accomplishing their design, gun-boats were placed on the river, and with these they had different engagements, but without success. They, however, succeeded in capturing some small vessels, and on one of these a packet was taken by which they got some knowledge of the state of the kingdom. Here they chose, in place of Harvey, by a tumultuous election, father Philip Roche, their commander in chief, the priest who gained the victory near Clough, remarkable for his lofty stature and boisterous manners, and, on that account, with the influence derived from his office, not ill adapted to govern the disorderly bands over whom he was placed. Their present position they left in three days, and then occupied Lackenhill, near Ross, whence a detachment was sent to the town of Borris, in the county of Carlow, in order to seize arms and ammunition, but they were repulsed by the garrison with loss. In the contest, however, a great part of that handsome little town was burned. Except this fruitless attempt, the rebels lay here quite inactive, and negligent of their safety, indulging themselves with the liquors and cattle they could procure.

Their associates at Gorey continued for some time equally inactive, and their inactivity was very fortunate in the event. After the defeat of the detachment under Walpole, and the retreat of Loftus, instead of pursuing their victory, they wasted their time in burning Carnew, trying prisoners for being Orangemen, and plundering houses. At length they roused themselves from their indolence, and assembling at Gorey on the ninth of June, marched northward in order to form a junction with a body of insurgents in the county of Wicklow, for the purpose of attacking Arklow. Had they arrived there on the fifth, after the retreat of the garrison, who deserted it with precipitation on hearing of the defeat of Walpole, they could have taken it without opposition, and might then have effected their design of marching to Dublin, in which city and the vicinity many thousands were ready to join them. But the garrison, being favoured by their delay, in the mean while returned, some other troops followed, and at a very critical period, the very day of the attack, the Durham fencibles arrived under the

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Arklow.

command of colonel Skerret, an excellent officer, being conveyed in carragies to avoid fatigue.

By this reinforcement the garrison of Arklow was increased to sixteen hundred men, but the rebel army on the march against it amounted to twenty seven thousand, of whom five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes. Due notice being given of their approach, the royal troops were drawn up in lines to receive them, with artillery in front, and by this able arrangement of the commander, general Needham, three sides of the town were defended by the military, and the fourth by the river Ovaca. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the ninth of June, the rebels, having extended themselves into a kind of irregular line of great depth, began the attack. A large column, advancing rapidly by the sea-shore, entered that part of the town called the Fishery, consisting of thatched cabins, which they set on fire, repelling a guard of yeomen-cavalry posted there, who fled with precipitation. They, however, met with a firm resistance from a body of military placed at the extremity of the Fishery, by whom they were at length repulsed with great loss. During the continuance of this contest the principal attack was made at the other end of the town against the Durham fencibles, whose line extended across the fields, in front of the barrack, to the road leading from Gorey. At first the rebels poured their fire on the military from behind hedges, but being enticed from their cover by the address of colonel Skerret, they made an open attack on his men. Thrice did they rush impetuously forward almost to the very mouths of the cannon, but were repulsed at each attempt with great slaughter. They also made use of some cannon of their own, but they were not levelled with effect, as they were wrought by some artillerymen that had been taken prisoners. The attack at this part of the town was conducted by Michael Murphy, the priest, who used every method he could devise to work on the superstitious credulity of his followers. When they would seem rather reluctant to advance, he would take some musket balls out of his pocket, and show them to them, saying they were fired at him by the enemy, but that he had caught them in his hands, as the balls of heretics could not

injure those who were stedfast in the faith. At length he was killed himself by a cannon ball, within thirty yards of the line of the Durham fencibles, while he was exerting himself with great bravery, and the rebels, being dispirited by his fall, began to retreat at the close of the day, and directed their course towards Gorey.

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In this retreat it was not thought prudent to molest them, and therefore they had leisure to carry off their wounded. Their loss amounted, it was supposed, to about five hundred, that of the king's army must have been inconsiderable, as the Durham fencibles, who were chiefly engaged, out of three hundred and sixty men, had only twenty killed and wounded. The issue of the battle was, however, very important, as it prevented the insurgents from effecting their scheme of getting to Dublin, which might have given a dangerous turn to the rebellion.

Notwithstanding this victory, the royal army remained some days close within its quarters at Arklow, sending out patrols with great caution; and the main body of the rebels, who were defeated there, having taken post at Gorey, and Limerick-hill, four miles distant, marched thence, under Garret Byrne, a Romish gentleman of the county of Wicklow, to the little town of Tinnchely in the same county, from which two corps of yeomanry were obliged to retreat. On the seventeenth this town was burned by them, as were also many houses in the country around, and many protestants were put to death with pikes, under pretence of their being Orangemen. They intended now to surprise Hackets-town, but were prevented by the arrival of a considerable body of troops from Baltinglass, under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas. These troops having formed a junction with some others from Tullow, conducted by general Loftus, the whole body, under the command of general Lake, marched to attack the rebels at a new post they had taken, called Kilcaven-hill, a lofty eminence two miles distant from Carnew. The attack, however, on examination, was not thought prudent, and after a cannonade on both sides, with little execution, they mutually separated by general consent. The royal army retreated to Gorey, and the insurgents, having set up loud shouts of defiance, with

Different
proceedings

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Camp of
Vinegar
hill.

their hats raised on pikes, as was their custom, directed their course on the twentieth towards Vinegar-hill.

This hill, unfortunately too conspicuous in the annals of the rebellion, which was seized by the rebels on the twenty-ninth of May, became afterwards their principal post in that quarter. From their very first acts at this place the protestants could perceive the treatment they might expect from them if in their power; for, immediately after their encampment, they proceeded to destroy the church of Ennis-corthy, and having pulled down the organ, the pews, the communion-table, and the reading-desk, they burned them to ashes before the church door. They tore the Bibles and prayer-books, and demolished every thing else within, leaving nothing but the roof and the bare walls. They took down the bell, and mounted it between two beams on Vinegar-hill, in order to give notice of the hours, and to alarm the camp in case of surprise. They also burned the glebe-house to ashes, but converted the out-offices into stores for holding provisions and arms for the camp.

Daily mas-
sacres there

Such acts, however, may be considered as innoxious in comparison of the others committed. Different gangs of assassins were sent through the country in search of protestants; some of whom, on being taken, were immediately put to death, but the generality were brought prisoners to Vinegar-hill, and confined in a prison at the foot of the hill, or in the town. Afterwards they got a kind of a mock trial; the charge brought against them was their being Orangemen or protestants, which had the same meaning, and for which they were condemned. The day of their execution they were put into the walls of an old wind-mill at the top of the hill, and afterwards taken out, and either shot or transfixed with pikes. Some, however, were put to death without even the form of a trial. Every morning at parade from fifteen to thirty of these unfortunate victims were executed before the rebels as an amusement to them. On such occasions a number of women were spectators, who exulted with savage joy, insulting the protestants at their last hour, and assuring them of the eternal damnation that awaited them in the other world. Those who were confined for even a few days before their execution, were almost

starved to death, and some were previously lashed or otherwise tormented. To others their death was rendered more bitter by lingering tortures. Such were the horrid scenes daily exhibited. The commander in-chief at this camp was father John Murphy of Boulavogue chapel, who first erected the standard of rebellion in the county of Wexford. Two clergymen of the established church were assassinated here, the reverend Thomas Troke, and the reverend John Pentland. The reverend Samuel Haydon was murdered in the town of Enniscorthy. Many more of the same description in other parts met with a similar fate. Every clergyman of the diocese of Ferns, that could effect it, made his escape out of the country, leaving his property exposed to the rebels.

For three weeks were they in possession of Vinegar-hill, which was, during that time, daily stained with the blood of the victims slain at the altar of superstition. At length it was resolved to proceed against them. The plan of general Lake, the commander-in-chief, was to surround their position on all sides at once, and for this purpose several armies moved from different quarters at the same time. Dundas, Duffe and Loftus proceeded from the vicinity of Kilcaven, Eustace and Johnson from Ross, and Needham from Arklow and Gorey. The time designed for the attack was the morning of the twenty-first of June, and the different troops arrived at the ground, at the appointed hour, except those under general Needham, which was detained by some unforeseen incidents. This army was provided with a formidable train of artillery, and, including the troops under general Needham, amounted to thirteen thousand effective men, while that of the rebels was supposed not much to exceed twenty thousand. The gallant general Johnson, who displayed such valour at Ross, began the attack on the town of Enniscorthy at seven o'clock in the morning, and his example was followed by the different leaders present. The rebels resisted for some time, though assailed with showers of bullets, and shells from the artillery, but they were assisted by the steepness of the hill, and were defended by clay-banks and inclosures from the fire of the royal troops. At the end of an hour and a-half they were, however, completely routed, and made their escape through

C H A P. the space appointed for general Needham's army, which was
XXIII. afterwards styled *Needham's Gap*. They were pursued with slaughter, and among those slain in the flight was father Clinch, an Enniscorthy priest, who wore the vestments under his clothes. About five hundred were killed, but among those were some who were forced by the rebels to join them, and were taking that opportunity to escape. The loss of the king's troops was inconsiderable, except in that portion of the army commanded by general Johnson, which met with obstinate resistance from the pikemen in the town of Enniscorthy. Of these ninety-three were killed or wounded. Thus were the rebels dislodged from their position on Vinegar-hill, on which, during the three weeks it was in their possession, four hundred protestants were massacred in cold blood. Some other unhappy scenes are still to be exhibited.

State of
 protestants
 at Wex-
 ford.

The town of Wexford having been in the hands of the rebels from the thirtieth of May, they had from that time full opportunity of displaying the atrocious dispositions they possessed. Immediately on their entering, a few protestants were put to death, and afterwards some more were sent for execution to Vinegar-hill, but the generality, being either inhabitants of the town, refugees, or prisoners brought from several parts of the country, were put in confinement. Of these, two hundred and sixty were confined in jail, or some other temporary public prisons, and the rest in private houses. All these unfortunate people lived in the continual apprehension of being either shot, piked, or starved to death. On the second of June an illustrious prisoner fell into the hands of the rebels, lord Kingsborough, colonel of the North-Cork militia, who sailed from Arklow to join his regiment at Wexford, without knowing that the town was in possession of the rebels, and was taken prisoner at the mouth of the harbour. Doctor Caulfield, the titular bishop of Ferns, exerted his influence over the rebels, which was very great, to save this nobleman's life, especially as their having a person of such station in their possession, might be useful to get favourable terms in case of a reverse of fortune. His lordship was of course kept in honourable custody, though it was found difficult in some cases to preserve his life from sanguinary rebels.

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Philip Roche deserted his position at Lacken-hill near that town, and, with a part of his forces, the rest having joined their associates at Vinegar-hill, took possession of the post of Three Rocks, near Wexford. Here he was informed that general Moore, with twelve hundred men, was proceeding to march from the neighbourhood of Ross to Enniscorthy, and resolved to attack him. Accordingly he drew a great part of the rebel garrison from Wexford, and marched against him with about six thousand men. The two armies met on the twentieth of June at Goff's bridge, near the church of Horetown, and had a sharp contest of four hours, maintained with great obstinacy. At length the insurgents, having exhausted their ammunition, retreated in good order to Three Rocks, and the royal army took post on the field of battle. Battle of
Horetown.

On the same day, the twentieth of June, about the time of this battle, the massacre of Wexford took place, which so much increased the horrors of that dismal period. The principal leader was one Thomas Dixon, a catholic, who was master of one of the vessels that brought the unfortunate prisoners back to land, as already mentioned. He also kept a public house in the town, and having a good deal of influence over his guests, who were usually of the common people, became a rebel captain. About two o'clock of the twentieth, he went to the jail, mounted on a large white horse, and attended by a man on foot bearing a black flag. When he came to Bridewell door, he said, "Bring out the prisoners, and, as they are shot, we will pile them against the dead wall of the jail." His wife, however, who was a fury in the shape of woman, a worthy associate for such a murderer, made him have recourse to a greater refinement in cruelty. She insisted that the prisoners should be led out to the bridge, and executed there, in order to gratify the people. Accordingly the black flag, the woful harbinger of death, was carried through the streets, and fixed on the custom-house quay, where it continued waving above an hour before the commencement of the massacre. At four o'clock the prisoners were led out for execution to the new bridge, in bodies of from ten to twenty, preceded by a black Massacre
of Wex-
ford.

C H A P. XXIII. flag, attended by their executioners, and the ruthless pikemen for their guards. A few were shot, but the generality were put to death in the following manner. Two rebels with their pikes stood before, and two behind each victim, and thrusting their pikes into him, held him suspended in the air and writhing with torture till he expired, and then threw the body into the river. On this the mob around, who were mostly women, expressed their savage joy with loud huzzas. Dixon's wife distinguished herself above all others, and stepping over the ground with her riding-dress pulled up lest it should be stained with the blood, said to the pikemen, " spare your ammunition and use the pikes." These successive executions continued till seven o'clock in the evening, when ninety-seven prisoners were put to death. At this time an express arrived, that Vinegar-hill was surrounded and reinforcements required, and at the same time, while the rebels were in agitation at the news, father Corrin, the bishop's curate, came seasonably forward, and used the following stratagem to save the lives of those who were just on the point of execution. He made the rebels kneel down and pray, that *God would show the same mercy to them that they would to the surviving prisoners.* Thus the massacre was stopped; for the clergy still retained their influence over the rebels, who seemed very devout. Even the savage pikemen used to kneel and pray fervently before they put the prisoners to death. There were fifteen catholic clergymen in Wexford at the time of the massacre, and not one of them interfered to save the prisoners' lives except father Corrin, who hastened immediately on his return to town from parochial duties. Doctor Caulfield, the bishop, offered as his *excuse*, that he kept close withinside his house all the time, and heard nothing of the affair.

Offers to
surrender
the town.

Several armies of the king's troops being now in the neighbourhood of Wexford, whose arrival was soon expected, and ships of war and gun-boats proceeding towards it by sea, it was therefore thought expedient by the inhabitants to make a peaceable surrender of the place to the generals of his majesty's forces. Accordingly they had a meeting early in the morning of the twenty-first, and appointed lord Kingsborough governor of the town; at this meeting

it was resolved that two officers of the king's army, who were prisoners, should be sent with an offer from the inhabitants, to surrender the town to his majesty's generals, on condition that they would engage that their lives and properties should be secured. Accordingly, they set out on their commission, and proceeded to general Moore, who was most convenient, but he could return no answer on his own authority, and referred their proposals to the commander-in-chief. Soon after they had gone, the rebel leaders, who were becoming very apprehensive for their safety, urged lord Kingsborough to send a second messenger on a similar errand, and his lordship sent ensign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by a rebel captain. But poor Harman, having unfortunately met father John Murphy at the head of a large column on their retreat from Vinegar-hill, was, on a hint from Murphy, instantly shot by his aid-de-camp through the head.

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The whole column of rebels now poured into Wexford, but the greater number soon left it at the instance of doctor Caulfield, who assured them that general Moore with his army was approaching, which was the case. At five o'clock in the evening the general had got within two miles of it, and at this time captain Boyd, member of parliament for the town, being apprehensive for his wife and family, who were there, rode boldly in at full gallop, with eight yeomen of his troop, declaring, as he proceeded through the streets, that the army were at his heels. Very fortunately these brave men escaped unhurt, and the remaining rebels either fled in consternation, or tearing out their green cockades, and throwing away their arms, thus endeavoured to pass unnoticed. In the evening general Moore sent a few detachments to take possession of the town, but took post himself with the rest of the army on the Windmill-hill, that commands it. Next morning he marched in, and was followed some hours after by general Lake. Thus was the town taken quiet possession of by the royal troops, a town the scene of such cruelties, without a single house being injured at the time, or even while it was in the hands of the rebels, a case very unusual during the present rebellion.

Entered by
the royal
army.

It appears now, that this rebellion, though occasioned at Reflections

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first by political motives, terminated, in this quarter, in a religious war, which, it is apprehended, would be always the case in a great part of the kingdom. This is owing to the aversion that the catholics there of the lower order entertain both for the religion and persons of the protestants, whom they do not consider as christians at all. This aversion there is no possible way for protestants to remove, but by becoming converts to their religion. Hence many of these, during the rebellion, made a feigned avowal of their conversion to popery, in order to save their lives, and were christened over again by the priests. This was the daily practice in the town of Wexford, while it was in the possession of the rebels, for we are told, “that the protestant men and women there were obliged to recant, and with their children were required to be baptised at the catholic chapel, and to attend mass.”* B. Harvey, and the other protestant leaders, who joined the rebels, found it was prudent to attend mass in the camp, and this gentleman, after his deposition from the principal command, was struck with horror when his successor, father Philip Roche, denounced heretics in their different camps.† It cannot indeed be denied, that, during the rebellion, and after its suppression, many acts of cruelty were committed by protestants on their catholic countrymen, without regard to their personal guilt or innocence. But their animosity was rather of a political, than religious nature, directed against a description of men, whom they considered as their irreconcilable enemies, ready to take the first opportunity to extirpate them from society. No such opinion prevails even among protestants of the lowest order, that all out of the pale of their church are so accursed, and such objects of divine wrath, that to kill them would be meritorious. They never required Romanists, whose lives were in their power, to conform to the established church, while, on the contrary, the protestants, who were in the hands of the Wexford insurgents, could preserve their lives by no other means than by conformity to the Romish worship, and submitting to baptism by a Ro-

* Jackson's *Sufferings*, p. 64.

† *Observations on Dr Caulfield's Reply to Musgrove*, p. 7.

nish priest. Some priests, indeed, from motives of humanity, encouraged them to make outward professions of this kind, for their own preservation. By this temporising conformity, and the humane exertions of the priest, father Rogers, the protestants of the parish of Killegny, near Enniscorthy, in the very rage of the late persecution, escaped unhurt. In many instances, however, the offer of conforming to their religion was not accepted by the rebels, and it is owned by the author,* who gives the account of this parish, that the fate of the protestants there was only suspended, and that, if the rebels had prevailed longer in that quarter, they would have been all destroyed. In the adjoining parish of Killan, as he tells us, a savage mob collected together the protestants of both sexes, in order to burn them alive in the parish church, or *make an Orange pye of them*, as they termed it, and had provided faggots for the purpose, but were prevented by the arrival of some brave yeomen. By such furious bigots all protestants were called Orangemen, under pretence to justify their enormities, even in parts where the Orange institutions had never existed, and many protestant inhabitants, in the humble abodes of industry, who fell a sacrifice to their fanatical fury, never heard of the word Orangemen till they were denounced as such by their assassins.

This fiery zeal exists chiefly in the south and west of Ireland, where popery is predominant, but not so much in the north, where religious bigotry is tempered by an intermixture of different sects. Indeed it will be found, that, in this quarter, the lower order of the catholics are, in general, at least in appearance, as good members of society as their protestant neighbours of the same station, and, probably in other parts of the kingdom, there is no difference in the conduct of the better educated of every religious description. Yet the present unhappy occasion affords, among others, a melancholy proof of the injurious effects produced by a bigotted attachment to particular tenets; for we are assured, that men who bore formerly excellent moral

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion, p. 170.

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characters, were, during the rebellion, guilty of murder, robbery and perjury, without remorse, and numbers, in prosecuting the war, violated the obligations of friendship, gratitude, and humanity.* It must be owned, however, that with some the sense of these duties overcame the prejudices of religion. It must also be owned, that, after all the clamour raised against popish priests, there were very few parish priests *openly* concerned in the rebellion, and that those who took such an active part were generally curates, who may be supposed discontented with their situation, and eager for a change.†

* Musgrave's Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 59.

† From reading the "History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford, by Edward Hay, Esq." one would infer, that there would have been no insurrection there at all, and no massacre of the protestants, if the *people*, as he terms the rebels, had not been provoked by the shocking cruelties of the military. But his friend Mr Gordon, whose history he approves, who lived nearly thirty years in that county, and who was on the spot during the rebellion, gives a very different account.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Disaffection in the north—Insurrection at Antrim—Battles of Saintfield—Ballynahinch—Slight action at Portaferry—Termination of rebellion in Ulster—Affairs of Wexford—Bloody Friday—Main body of insurgents—Death of father John—Attack of Hacketstown—Sad defeat at Ballyellis—Progress of insurgents continued—Their separation—Their final dispersion—Holt and Hacket, &c.—Observations—Trials and executions—Departure of Camden—Succession of Cornwallis—Act of amnesty—Capitulation of chief conspirators—Regulations of Cornwallis—Invasion at Killala—French joined by the peasantry—Character of Humbert, &c.—Exertions of government—Battle of Castlebar—Mode adopted by Cornwallis—Motions of Humbert—Battle of Colony—Humbert's march diverted—Surrender at Ballynamuck—Insurrection at Granard—Contests in Mayo—Killala stormed—Previous transactions there—Rebels in Connaught not sanguinary—Indulgence to French officers—Executions—Manifestos of Tandy—A second invasion prevented—Death of Theobald Wolfe Tone—A third attempt at invasion—Rebellion suppressed—Compensation to suffering loyalists—Amount of loss sustained—Other effects of the rebellion—The Union—Remarks on it—Literature.

IF the scheme of the United Irishmen did not originate with the presbyterians* of the north, it was adopted by too many of them, and cherished with cordiality. For many years previous to the origin of this institution, it was the fashion of presbyterians to show, whenever an opportunity offered, a peculiar tenderness for popery. The northern volunteers, in their numerous addresses and resolutions for parliamentary reform, published in the newspapers, would declare how sensibly they felt for the grievances with which their catholic brethren were oppressed. But these general expressions, were only preparatory to the introduction of the system of

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Disaffec-
tion in the
north.
1798.

* It is necessary to observe, that a very large and respectable body of the presbyterians of Ulster, were averse to the schemes of the United Irishmen.

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XXIV. more dangerous tendency. At the time the principles of this society were disseminating through the north, the presbyterians of Belfast, to shew their liberality, would frequently go to mass, convinced that their schemes could never succeed without the aid of the catholics, the great majority of the people, whom they took every method to entice. The disaffected in the north, however, as their plan was disconcerted by the seizure of their chiefs in Dublin, and the mode adopted of taking up arms, became more than usually cautious, and therefore did not rise on the detention of the mail-coaches, the signal appointed for general insurrection. But when an account came of a commotion in the county of Wexford, and of three successive victories gained over the royal army, then some of the most zealous partizans resolved to make an attempt. Their designs, however, were not unknown to the loyalists of that quarter.

Insurrec-
 tion at An-
 trim.

In order to consult on some measures to prevent an insurrection, a meeting of magistrates was appointed to be held in the town of Antrim, on the seventh of June, and on that day the rebels resolved to commence their operations, by seizing the magistrates assembled. Intelligence of their designs being communicated to general Nugent, who commanded the troops of that district, he sent off a large military force to the assistance of the yeomanry of the town; but of this force only the advanced guard, consisting of a hundred dragoons, with two curriele guns, reached the town at two o'clock, just at the time a considerable body of the rebels were entering. In the attack which succeeded, the dragoons were severely galled by a party of rebels placed behind the church-yard wall, who fired on them securely, and their guns being deserted, they were obliged to retire with loss, to meet the main body advancing, by whom, on their arrival, the rebels were dispossessed of the town, and pursued with slaughter. About two hundred were slain, and thirty of the royal army, among whom were two officers. Lord O'Neal, being on horseback in the streets, was mortally wounded with pikes, an accomplished nobleman, descended from the chieftains of Ulster, eminent for his public spirit and philanthropy. The town of Larne was also

assaulted by a small body, who were repulsed by the gar- CHAP.
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rison, and feeble attempts were made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. The main body then retired to Donnegar-hill, but on hearing of the turn affairs had taken in Leinster, they dispersed.*

About the same time, an insurrection took place in the Battle of
Saintfield.
county of Down, and colonel Stapleton, having marched, on the ninth of June, with a detachment of the York fencibles, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry, against a number of insurgents assembled at Saintfield, under a leader called doctor Jackson, was unfortunately surprised by a sudden attack. On a part of the road near that town, through which he was to proceed, lined with high hedges, the rebels lay in ambush, and having suffered the majority of his forces to pass unmolested, opened a heavy fire on the rear, consisting of yeomen cavalry, who were thrown into confusion. Many of the infantry, in attempting to go into the fields to form, were transfixed with pikes; but at length colonel Stapleton, who acted with cool intrepidity on the occasion, having succeeded in forming the grenadiers, and getting some cannon to bear on the rebels, they were repulsed. The colonel, however, thought it expedient to retreat to Belfast, having lost about sixty men, including three officers. In this attack was also killed Mr Mortimer, a clergyman, rector of Portaferry, who had volunteered. The loss of the rebels hardly exceeded that of the royal troops. On the preceding day, they burned the house of one M'Kee, near Saintfield, an informer, in which eleven persons were consumed, being prevented from escaping by a guard. This was the only act of atrocity, except in battle, committed by the insurgents in Ulster, where the people are better educated than in the south, and better instructed in the principles of pure religion.

The insurgents being collected from all quarters, formed Ballyna-
hinch.
an army of about five thousand men, and having elected for their general Henry Munroe, a linen-draper of Lisburn,

* James Dickey, a rebel leader at Antrim, who was hanged at Belfast, declared a short time before his execution, that the presbyterians found out, when it was too late, that if they had succeeded in subverting the constitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the catholics. *Musgrove*, II. p. 108.

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marched to Ballynahinch on the eleventh of June, and encamped on Edinavaddy hill, in lord Moira's demesne, posting a strong party on the Windmill-hill, positions both adjacent to the town, which lies in a lawn between the two hills. On the twelfth, general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, and colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, and joined their forces near Ballynahinch, amounting to fifteen hundred men. They then repelled the rebels from the Windmill-hill, taking possession of it, and also of the town, which they soon after wantonly set on fire. On the morning of the thirteenth, while the town was in flames, the battle began, the rebels firing some small cannon tied on cars, while the royal artillery threw shells in return, that burst in the air. For three hours this petty cannonade continued with little effect on either side, but at length a close combat commenced. A body of resolute pikemen, attacking with great violence the Monaghan militia, posted with two field-pieces at lord Moira's gate, forced them back on the Hillsborough cavalry, and thus both were driven from their ground in disorder. But the insurgents lost by their want of tactics, the advantage gained by their valour. Assailed in flank by other troops, which gave the discomfited time to rally, they retreated to the summit of the hill in confusion, where they defended themselves for some time with great valour; but at length they entirely gave way, and fled in all directions. In the battle and pursuit, about two hundred were killed, and of the royal troops about forty, among whom were two officers of the Monaghan militia.

Slight action at
Portaferry.

Previous to this action, a slighter one took place at Portaferry on the tenth, where the yeomanry, posted in the market-house, under captain Mathews, repelled the attack of a large body of rebels, in which they were assisted by the fire of a revenue cruiser under captain Hopkins, by whose means the rebels were prevented from getting across Strangford river, which might have considerably extended the rebellion. In this attack they lost about twenty, while the yeomanry all escaped unhurt, but three volunteer loyalists, who worked two swivels outside the market house, having no cover, were killed.

After the battle of Ballynahinch, the execution of leader's commenced, which was not extensive, as no sanguinary disposition was displayed by the military. Munroe, having fled towards the mountains, was taken in a potatoe field about five miles from the town. He was brought to Lisburn, tried by a court-martial, and executed opposite to his own door.* Some dissenting ministers were also executed, especially probationers, who were active agitators; but some of the most guilty made their escape. Catholic priests were not so active in the north. In the battle of Ballynahinch there were no catholics; the night before the battle, two thousand deserted their dissenting brethren, and, during the engagement, expressed their satisfaction at seeing protestants killing each other. After the battle, the main body of rebels retired to the mountains of Slyeeve-Croob, where they resolved, like the Antrim insurgents, on account of the murders committed on the protestants in Wexford, to give up any farther resistance. Accordingly, they surrendered or separated, returning to their homes. Thus ended the rebellion in the north, which might have been very formidable, as may be inferred from the boldness and courage displayed by the insurgents, during the short time it continued. It may be necessary, now, to return to the transactions of another quarter.

The persons deputed by the town of Wexford, to wait on general Lake, did not obtain the object of their mission. He said, "he would not attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign, but would pardon the deluded multitude, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance." By this refusal, the insurgents in that part, who thought that the least tender of submission would be accepted, were very much disappointed in their hopes. A large body of the column who escaped from Vinegar-hill, rushed that day into the town of Wexford, with father John Murphy at their head, and were eager to commit more murders, but were prevented, as already men-

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Termination of rebellion in Ulster.

Affairs of Wexford.

* Just before he was suspended, he said that he wished to settle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted, and having got a pen and ink, settled it at the foot of the gallows with coolness and deliberation.

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XXIV. the titular bishop, and others of influence, who prevailed on
 them to leave the town in a short time.

**Bloody
Friday.**

The whole column, to which others from different parts had united, were now separated into two bodies, under their respective leaders, one of which took post at Sledagh, in the barony of Forth, the other at Peppard's-castle, with an intent to march to Wicklow mountains. Those in this latter position, commanded by one Perry, on receiving an account, as we are told by an apologist, that the yeomen were slaughtering the people about Gorey returning to their houses, hastened thither in order to retaliate, as if they would not be inclined to commit murder, unless previously provoked. On their way, they unfortunately met with the refugee loyalists of Gorey, who having fled to Arklow, were returning to their own town under false hopes of protection, and put thirty-seven of these unhappy people to death, who had given them no offence. This massacre was committed on Friday the twenty-second of June, which was termed *Bloody Friday* in that country. The rebels then resumed their march to the Wicklow mountains.

**Main body
of insur-
gents.**

The main body posted at Sledagh, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, under the command of father John Murphy, their principal leaders having left them, directed its course to Scollagh-gap, an opening in Mount Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Their design was to raise an insurrection in the latter county, and also in the county of Kilkenny, particularly among the colliers about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in 1793. Repelling the few troops that attempted to stop their progress they passed the gap, and having burned the little town of Kiledmond in the county of Carlow, they continued their march to Gore's-bridge, a neat village on the river Barrow, in the county of Kilkenny, where they arrived in the morning of the twenty-third of June. A few troops posted on the bridge, they soon defeated, with the loss of some killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners, of whom they ordered seven to be shot as Orangemen, obliging their fellow soldiers to be their executioners. Proceeding on with great speed, they took post on a long-extended

mountain called the *Ridge of Leinster*, five miles from Castlecomer. CHAP.
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Next morning, they descended from the heights, and in their march towards the town, defeated a body of about two hundred and fifty men, of whom about fifty were slain. The rest retreated precipitately, pursued by the rebels, who rushed into the town close behind them. The few soldiers, being joined by some loyalists, took refuge in four houses, and for about three hours, kept up a constant fire on the rebels with great effect. In the mean while, the town was set on fire, and at length sir Charles Asgil, having arrived with nine hundred men, by a few rounds of grapeshot, dislodged the rebels from the town. They then retreated into a wood, pursued by sir Charles, who raked it with his cannon. This general, however, thought it expedient to retire to Kilkenny, taking with him the numerous protestants of Castlecomer and the neighbourhood, who fled for their lives, leaving their effects as a prey to the rebels. These, having lost about a hundred in the action, took possession of the town, which they plundered, burning the remaining houses of protestants, and massacring such as unfortunately fell into their hands.

Disappointed, however, in their hopes of raising an insur- Death of
father
John.
rection in these parts, of which the spirit had now evaporated, diminished by desertion to between four and five thousand, and deficient in ammunition, they resolved to return through Scollagh to their own county. Accordingly, they set out on their retreat without delay, but they were not allowed to escape without a contest. On the morning of the twenty-sixth of June, they were assailed on three sides at once, at a place called Kilcomny, by seventeen hundred men under general Asgil, and major Mathews, whom they resisted for an hour, but then gave way, and fled with such celerity, that they regained the gap with little loss, except their plunder and cannon, consisting of ten light pieces. They now forced their way through the pass, repelling some troops placed there to oppose them, and directed their march towards the mountains of Wicklow, reduced still more by desertion, and deprived of their leader father John, who was taken after the battle, and hanged at Tullow.

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XXIV.Attack of
Hacketstown.

On their return, they found that their associates, of whom different parties had united, were repulsed in an attack on Hacketstown, in the county of Wicklow, on the twenty-fifth. These, being above ten thousand men, under the command of Garret Byrne and five other leaders, early in the morning of that day, proceeded to attack that post; and the garrison, consisting of a hundred and seventy, mostly yeomen, under lieutenant Gardner, of the Antrim militia, perceiving their approach, marched boldly out to meet them. But after an exchange of some shots, they found it expedient to retreat, the cavalry entirely from the scene of action, and the infantry, amounting only to a hundred and twenty, into the barrack. The rebels pursued, and entering the town, set it on fire. One house only escaped, that flanked the barrack, defended by the reverend James M'Ghee, and nine other protestants. From this house, and from the walls of the barrack, lined by the garrison, the rebels received a most destructive fire, that for nine hours defeated all their efforts. At length they desisted and retreated to Blessington, having lost about three hundred men. Of the royalists, ten were killed and twenty wounded, and the rest, having no shelter in the town, which was burned, retreated to Tullow.

Sad defeat
at Bally-
ellis.

The body of rebels above mentioned, who had disturbed the county of Kilkenny, on hearing, upon their return to the Wicklow mountains, of the unsuccessful attempt on Hacketstown, resolved, in despair of any success in that quarter, to proceed again to the county of Wexford. Accordingly they set out, being joined by many others of the Wicklow insurgents under Garret Byrne, and the whole united body marched forward with the design of surprising the garrison of Carnew. General Needham, being informed of their design, detached, on the thirtieth of June, a strong body of infantry, and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey to intercept them. For some reason, however, for which it is difficult to account, the infantry were recalled, and the cavalry, rushing rashly forward by themselves, came up with the insurgents on the road to Carnew. They then attacked them with violence, and the rebels retreating, and leaping over the ditches into the fields

in order to escape; at length, at a place called Ballyellis, having posted themselves behind the hedges and walls on both sides the way, poured a terrible fire on the cavalry, who were greatly confounded, and pushed rapidly forward towards Carnew. Unfortunately, in their flight, they were retarded by cars lying accidentally on the road, belonging to the rebels, who fired on them in security, and thus, without wounding one of their opponents, fifty-five of the detachment were slain. The slaughter would have been even more considerable, as the rear was surrounded, had not a body of yeomen infantry, who happened to be near them, come spontaneously to their relief. The cavalry who escaped, proceeding with all speed to Carnew, informed the garrison of their danger, who had just time to retire into a malt-house, from which they repelled the assailants.

Pursued by a body of yeomen, the insurgents were obliged to change their course, and, on the second of July, took post on Ballyraheen-hill, between Tinnehely and Carnew. In this advantageous position, they were unadvisedly attacked, and rushing from the high ground, they in an instant routed the assailants, of whom two officers and ten privates were killed. On this repulse, sixty of the yeomen took refuge in the house of captain Chamney, at the foot of the hill, one of the officers slain, where for fourteen hours they sustained the assaults of the enemy, who frequently attempted, in vain, to set the house on fire. They, however, set on fire the adjacent house of Henry Morton, a loyal gentleman, which proved injurious to themselves, as, by the light of the flames, the yeomen were enabled to aim at them during the night. In this attack they lost above a hundred men.

Progress of
insurgents
continued.

The insurgents now divided themselves into two bodies, one of which directed its course to the county of Kildare, the other to the county of Wexford. The latter being observed, on the fourth of July, to take their position at a place called White-heaps, at the foot of Croghan mountain, an attempt was made on the fifth, by three armies from Gorey, Carnew, and Arklow, to surround them, but taking the advantage of a thick fog, they succeeded in making their escape. Pursued and harassed by the cavalry, they were

Their separation.

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XXIV. a place called Ballygullin, near Gorey. In this action, they made violent onsets on the cavalry, and frequently attempted to take the artillery, rushing forward with singular intrepidity. At length, on the arrival of the main body, under sir James Duff, they fled in various directions with their usual celerity, but with what loss it is not easily ascertained, the accounts are so different. They had agreed to assemble again on the hill of Corrigrua, but annoyed in their retreat by another body of troops from Ferns, hunted on all sides, and unable to maintain any post, they found any further resistance ineffectual, and dispersed to their several places of abode. Thus terminated the war in the county of Wexford, but some insurgents of this county continued their hostilities in other parts.

These having united with others of the county of Kildare, who had hitherto eluded the king's troops, the whole body, amounting at least to three thousand men, marched with the design of passing the Boyne at Clonard, in order to raise an insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom. The small garrison placed there they supposed they could easily repel, which might naturally be expected, as it consisted only of twenty-seven yeomen, under lieutenant Tyrrel. But, strange as it may seem, this heroic band, from a fortified house, and a turret in a garden, commanding the road, which was at last set on fire, repelled the various attacks of such superior numbers even for six hours, until some troops arrived from Kinnegad and Mullingar to their aid. Thus were frustrated the designs of the rebels, who lost in this attack above a hundred killed and many wounded.

Their final By this repulse, a final separation was produced between
dispersion. those of Wexford and Kildare, who had, on a previous dispute, nearly turned their arms against each other. The Wexford insurgents, however, who were of a more desperate turn, resolved still to pursue their scheme of bold adventure. Accordingly, though reduced to fifteen hundred men, they proceeded with celerity through different counties, skirmishing with the royal troops, who were stationed on every side to intercept them. Having plundered a vil-

lage in the county of Kildare, they carried off the plunder into the county of Meath, but being attacked by a body of the king's army, they were obliged to leave it behind them, and fly off with precipitation. Disappointed of receiving reinforcements in this county, which had been lately disturbed, they passed the Boyne, near Duleek, and advanced rapidly into the county of Louth. Between this river and Ardee, they were assailed on the fourteenth by two divisions of cavalry, whom they repelled with great firmness, until the infantry and artillery arrived, and being then overpowered, they broke and fled into a bog. A party now took the road to Ardee and dispersed, but the main body having repassed the Boyne, proceeded with their usual celerity towards the metropolis, and had advanced as far as Ballyboghil, near Swords, in the county of Dublin, when they were overtaken by captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, who had closely pursued them, and apprehensive of being surrounded by detachments from different quarters, they fled, with some loss, and finally dispersed, seeking by devious routes their various homes or places of concealment.

In the course of their excursions they murdered many protestants, of which a particular account is given, and after their dispersion, and the suppression of the rebellion, a desperate banditti, under leaders called Holt and Hacket, took refuge in the Wicklow mountains, whence they would issue and commit numerous massacres, burn, plunder, and destroy, and retreat to their fastnesses before troops could arrive to intercept them. Holt was a protestant, but his followers were catholics, and the persons murdered were protestants, which was sometimes retaliated, probably on strong suspicion, on the catholics in the neighbourhood of the places where the enormities were committed. For some time their crimes were perpetrated with impunity, but being perpetually harassed, and having no shelter in the mountains in winter, they gradually diminished. At length Hacket was killed by a brave young gentleman, whose house he attacked, and Holt surrendered to government for transportation, on which their followers were entirely dispersed.

The counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and the neighbour-

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ing parts were now in a most wretched state. In the open country, houses of various descriptions were destroyed, many towns burned or wrecked entirely, and others partly, exhibiting a dismal appearance. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who too often plundered without distinction of loyalist or insurgent. For deeds of this sort the Hessians were particularly distinguished, and for other acts of inhumanity, having frequently put loyalists to death, who made their escape from the rebels. On the contrary, the Highlanders were remarkable for their orderly conduct and integrity, not even accepting a drink of butter-milk without payment. Military depredation, however, ceased after the appointment of general Skerret to the command of that district, who caused strict discipline to be observed. Though plunderers of this kind were thus prevented, many others of a different description were scattered over the country, and it is supposed that the Romanists, who were now unarmed, suffered somewhat from the protestants of the lower order, who thought they had a right to make reprisals on them for their atrocities during the rebellion. Generally through religious motives these atrocities were committed by the Romanists, in the course of the rebellion, but in some cases they might have been occasioned by revenge for the violences of the military, who are accused of frequently putting people to death, on mere suspicion, without form of trial. This might naturally be expected from them, with their passions inflamed at the ferocious acts of the rebels. They are also accused of a wanton gratification of their lusts, while the rebels, it is said, respected the chastity of the fair sex, though they had, as captives, many handsome young women in their power. This forbearance, however, is to be ascribed, in some degree, to their having along with them a great many women of their own party, who, at such a time of dissolution of law, were less scrupulous of their favours.

Observations.

It appears that none of the insurgents were supplied with cannon, except those of Wexford and Ulster, and the former had not any after the battle of Kilcomny. For want of these, the rebels were unable to force the barracks of Hacketstown, though they had such great superiority of

numbers. In ammunition they were also very deficient, and were frequently obliged to use, as a substitute for leaden balls, small round stones, and hardened balls of clay. A great part of their gunpowder was of an inferior quality, for being made by pounding the materials in small mortars, it would only explode when it was fresh, and even then with little force. In the beginning of the rebellion, they aimed so high as generally to miss their enemy, but towards the end of it, being taught by experience, they levelled lower, and with more fatal effect. Their pikes were their most dangerous instruments, in particular for cavalry, and sometimes they rushed forward with these, and seized the artillery of their opponents.

High hills, they chose for their stations, which were styled camps, though destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs. The multitude remained in the open air, both sexes promiscuously, with very little covering, but there was that summer a very unusual continuance of dry and warm weather, which each party considered as a favour of Providence conferred on themselves. In such weather, had they continued long in one place, the offals of the cattle, coarsely slaughtered, which were scattered over the ground, might have produced a plague. In the county of Cork there was, during the rebellion, a partial insurrection, which was soon suppressed.

Soon after the royal troops took possession of Wexford, court-martials were established there for the trial of prisoners. In these trials, no sanguinary disposition was displayed by the military, as at that time, and for two years afterwards, only sixty-six persons were put to death for rebellion, in a town the scene of such murders, and the capital of a county where such horrid cruelties had been committed. Priest Philip Roche, the commander in chief, was found guilty. He was a man naturally of a military turn; his manners were boisterous, but he was not destitute of humanity, as by his interference, some loyalists were preserved from his sanguinary adherents. Along with him was executed captain Mathew Keogh, a protestant, who had formerly been an officer in the royal service; he made an excellent defence, and the officers were very desirous he should

Trials and
executions.

CH A P. escape, but among his papers, as general Lake observed,
XXIV. there were found sufficient indications of his guilt. With
 these were executed three others.

Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, and Cornelius Grogan, both protestants, suffered together. The latter was possessed of an estate of eight thousand pounds a-year, with much accumulated wealth besides. He was old and infirm; but being made a commissary by the insurgents, he had not resolution enough to reject the office, and also exerted himself in his employment by seizing the provisions of different persons in his vicinity. Harvey, by his own acknowledgment, had for three years before embraced the system of the United Irishmen. From his situation of commander-in-chief, he was, however, removed, and succeeded by father Philip Roche, on whom the office was conferred by his bigotted adherents. Finding he could not obtain pardon, he fled to the Saltee islands, and was taken in a cave along with John Henry Coleclough. The latter was a catholic, a man of liberality and benevolence. He was executed at Wexford, as were also two other catholic leaders, Esmond Kyan, and John Kelly, men of courage and humanity, who pleaded, on their trial, that they had exerted themselves to save the lives of loyalists. But such pleas were unhappily not admitted, as their success in these instances showed they possessed authority. It is a pity such persons should suffer, while the sanguinary Thomas Dixon succeeded in making his escape. Different leaders were executed in other places, among whom was Anthony Perry, a protestant of a good estate, who, having joined the United Irishmen, was treated with severity by the army, which urged him, it is said, to throw himself finally into the arms of the rebels. He was taken in making his escape after the battle of Hacketstown, and hanged at Edinderry, in the King's county.

Trials and executions had early commenced in the metropolis. Among those executed were Henry and John Sheares, whose sanguinary proclamation has been already noticed, John MacCan, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, and Michael William Byrne, delegate from the county committee of Wicklow.

During the whole of the rebellion, the city of Dublin was

preserved from disturbance, partly by the mode of circumvallation already mentioned, but more especially by the strenuous exertions of its own citizens, formed into yeomanry corps, whose services, at this important period, entitled them to the gratitude of their country. Towards the formation and discipline of this useful body of men, the lord-lieutenant had applied particular attention, and by his countenance and support they arose to their present degree of perfection. Grateful for the encouragement they had received, the yeomanry corps of Dublin attended him to the water-side, when he departed from the government of the country.

In the present perilous condition of the kingdom, the English cabinet thought it expedient, that a viceroy should be appointed possessed of both civil and military talents, which he would have immediate occasion to exercise. Of his ability in both these points, earl Cornwallis had already given sufficient proof, and therefore he was sent over in the capacity both of lord-lieutenant, and commander-in-chief. He entered Dublin on the twentieth of June, at the time the fury of the rebellion had abated.

At first no alteration took place in the trials and executions that had commenced, but in the beginning of July a proclamation was issued, allowing his majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. Afterwards an act of amnesty was passed in favour of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and should comply with the conditions above mentioned. From the benefit of this act were excluded James Napper Tandy, and about thirty more, mostly fugitives in France.

The chief conspirators, being state prisoners, and amounting to seventy persons, made proposals to government to give all the information in their power both of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and of those with foreign states, without implicating any individual in their discovery, on condition of their being allowed to leave the kingdom. They also proposed to emigrate to some country, to

CHAP. XXIV. be agreed on by both parties, and to give security not to pass into the territories of any state at war with Great Britain, nor return to Ireland without the permission of government. In this capitulation, they insisted that Oliver Bond, though under sentence of death, should be included.

A mutual agreement was now made, and in consequence, several of the principals, particularly O'Connor, Emmett, MacNevin, and Nelson, being examined on oath before a secret committee of both houses of parliament, gave very curious details of the conspiracy. In the report of the committee published by order of government, a mass of information is contained, developing the various designs and exertions of the conspirators. Fifteen of the principal of these were, however, detained in prison (though treated with great indulgence), during the continuance of the war with France, occasioned, it is said, by some fresh attempts they had made to excite the people to insurrection. Of this capitulation, poor Bond unhappily obtained no benefit, as he died in a few days after in prison of an apoplexy. He was a man, with all his errors, of great generosity and liberality, attached to the society of men of literature, who partook, among others, of his unbounded hospitality, and sincerely esteemed him for his many amiable qualities, though they disapproved of the political opinions he had adopted. Seduced by the fascinating French principles, which proved so destructive to true liberty, and to the happiness of mankind, he was carried away by the current of the times, and no doubt imagined, like many others of the same society, that his schemes, if effected, would prove of advantage to his country.

Regulations of
Cornwallis.

From the capitulation above mentioned, and his different other acts, the present viceroy discovered a conciliating spirit, superior to the influence of faction, which tended to correct the violence of the prevalent party. He exerted the civil and military authority, with which he was invested, to mitigate the effects of sanguinary prosecutions, and accordingly gave orders, that the sentence of each court-martial should remain suspended, until, by an inspection of its minutes, he could form an opinion of its justice. A measure

dictated by humanity, by which, no doubt, several lives were preserved. The general officers employed under him, especially in the county of Wexford, where the trials by court-martial principally took place, were guided, it is owned, by a similar spirit, and if some of the gentlemen of the county exhibited a contrary disposition, this was naturally to be expected from those who had suffered either in their persons, their properties, or connexions, by the horrid enormities committed. Beside the mode of conciliation already adopted, marquis Cornwallis was endeavouring to provide against every emergency, by a plan he had devised of making such an arrangement of troops that he might be able to call out, on the shortest notice, a respectable force, in any quarter of the kingdom it might be required. This plan, after many unavoidable delays, was just ready for execution when an account came of an invasion from France.

On the twenty-second of August, a French squadron of three frigates with troops came to anchor in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, having sailed from Rochelle in the beginning of the month, and escaped from our blockading fleet in the night. From whatever cause occasioned, it was fortunate for the country that their arrival was delayed so long. Their commander-in-chief was general Humbert, who, according to the mode prevalent among the French republicans, was raised gradually from the ranks to his present station, having distinguished himself by his strenuous resistance to the insurgents of La Vendee. His troops were landed without delay, consisting of eleven hundred men, of whom seventy were officers, and marched towards the town of Killala, where the garrison was only fifty in number, both yeomen and fencibles of the Prince of Wales's regiment. These made an attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, but were soon put to flight, leaving two of their party dead, and twenty prisoners, among whom were two officers. The bishop of Killala, being the principal person of the place, the French general, with a party of his men marched into the yard of his castle, and demanded to see him, on which his lordship made his appearance, and having fortunately a knowledge of the French language, was enabled to converse with him. He told the bishop, that the

Invasion at
Killala.

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French
joined by
the pea-
santry.

object of this invasion was to rescue Ireland from the tyranny of England, and to give her a free constitution under the protection of France, which, he expected, would be accomplished in a month, as another powerful armament would soon arrive from France to second his operations. He also said, that the bishop need be under no apprehension for himself or his people, as they would be treated with due respect, and that nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support, a promise that was religiously observed.

Perceiving the necessity of expedition in his present situation, the general next day sent forward a detachment towards Ballina, a small town seven miles to the south of Killala, of which they got possession on the evening of the twenty-fourth, after a skirmish with a picket-guard, in which a clergyman was killed, who had volunteered on the occasion, the reverend George Fortescue, rector of Ballina, and nephew to lord Clermont. Having made the bishop's castle their head-quarters, the French placed over the gate a green flag, with the inscription *Erin go Bragh*, in order to entice the common people to join them. These at first seemed a little tardy, but when they perceived the French active in their exertions, and determined to advance, many hundreds of them repaired to their standard, and received with eagerness the arms and uniforms sent to them from France. Complete clothing, with arms, was given to about a thousand, who first offered, and part clothing, with arms, to a great many more; of the latter above five thousand stand were delivered. In fact almost the entire population of the country rose up in rebellion, and joined the invaders, though no previous provocation had been given them; and of all these there were only two protestants, drunken sots of Killala, who afterwards submitted to the ceremony of being baptized over again by a priest. Several of such public teachers, it is owned by one of their own persuasion,* joined the invaders, whose example had no doubt a suitable influence on the common people. When these offered their services they used to declare, " that they were come to take

* Plowden's Review of Ireland, vol. ii. page 799.

“arms for France and the Blessed Virgin.” This, they thought, would ingratiate them with the French ; but it had rather a contrary effect, for they observed, that they had just driven the Pope out of Italy, but did not expect to see him so soon in Ireland. Indeed their commander seemed greatly disappointed, that no protestants joined them, as he had a quite different expectation from the flattering reports that were given by the leaders of the United Irishmen to the French directory. He told the bishop at their first interview, that he intended to establish a directory in Connaught, and observed, that a person of his intelligence and consequence would be very fit to be at the head of it, but his lordship declined that honour. As they brought no money along with them, which they expected, they said, in the next armament that would come, he gave each person an order on this future directory for payment, in return for the articles they took from him.

On the twenty-fifth of August he set out on his operations, taking with him eight hundred men, and leaving two hundred in Killala with six officers. He was a man in the full vigour of life, prompt in decision, and quick in execution, of a fierce demeanour, the effect of art, in order to extort obedience by terror, but of a disposition superior to his appearance. On the whole, he was an excellent officer, though he was so illiterate as to be scarcely able to write his own name, having risen from the ranks, as already mentioned. His men were in general low in stature, their complexion pale and sallow, occasioned by excessive hardships, to which they were inured by time. One half of them had served in Italy under Bonaparte ; the rest were of the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered such distresses as might well account for their looks.* In these soldiers were combined activity, temperance, patience to a surprising degree, with the most exact obedience to discipline. They seemed content to live on potatoes or bread, to drink water, make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no other cover but the canopy of heaven.

Character
of Humbert, &c.

* They used, they said, to dig a hole there under the snow to sleep in.

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On the twenty-sixth their commander left Ballina, being accompanied, besides his own eight hundred men, by about fifteen hundred rebels, whom he had now furnished with arms and clothing. His design was to proceed without delay to attack the forces at Castlebar, the principal town in the county, satisfied that a sudden impression, before a great number of troops were collected, would tend to increase his adherents.

Exertions
of govern-
ment.

In the mean while government were exerting themselves to make suitable preparations to resist the invaders. Though the military arrangements of the viceroy were not completed, yet a force more than sufficient in appearance was assembled, with due expectation, at the point of attack. General Huteson, proceeding from Galway with all haste, arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, where he was joined by general Lake, the chief commander in the west. The usual way to this town from Ballina was by Foxford, where a force was stationed under brigadier-general Taylor, to observe the movements of the French. But Humbert took another way through the mountains, where it was supposed an army could not march, and which, of course, was unsuspected. By this one he could bring with him no other artillery than two small curricule guns, and one of these had its carriage broken on the rough road, which caused him much delay to repair.

Battle of
Castlebar.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh, he arrived within two miles of Castlebar, with his eight hundred men, fatigued with their difficult march, and with want of sleep, accompanied by his adherents, who could be of no use to him in battle. The military, who had previous notice of his approach, were advantageously posted to receive him, being about three thousand men, fresh and vigorous, with fourteen pieces of artillery. By the fire of these cannon, which were well served, the ranks of the enemy were cut down in many places, and the French leaders, on that account, and on perceiving the formidable force opposed to them, had no other expectation, than being obliged immediately to surrender. Determined, however, on exertion, while any hope remained, they ordered their men to file to right and left, and advancing in small bodies under

cover of the smoke, to assail the foe in flank. At this instant, the royal army, being seized with a strange panic, broke on all sides, and fled in confusion through the town, on the road to Tuam, leaving their artillery and ammunition to the enemy, nor could the efforts of their officers prevail on them to rally. They continued their flight to Tuam, which is nearly forty English miles from the field of battle, and, after a short refreshment, were proceeding towards Athlone, distant above forty miles more, when they were stopped by the arrival of the viceroy in that town. In this disgraceful engagement fifty-three of the royal troops were killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy were prisoners or missing. The greater part of the latter, being soldiers of the Longford and Kilkenny militia, were found to have deserted to the enemy. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was equal to that of our troops. A few that were too eager in the pursuit were cut down by Lord Roden's cavalry.

Lord Cornwallis, considering that the invading force, though small, was not to be despised in the present disposition of the country, resolved to exert himself with vigilance and caution at this critical juncture. Though he heard, before his arrival at Athlone, of the victory gained by the French, he found it necessary to continue there for a day or two, and proceeding thence with his army, he arrived at Hollymount on the fourth of September, distant fourteen miles from Castlebar, to which place he was preparing to march to attack the French, when he was informed that they had abandoned that post, and directed their course to Foxford. He then thought it expedient to march himself in a parallel direction with the enemy, and appointed others to follow them.

After the victory of the French at Castlebar, a great many more of the Irish peasantry flocked to their standard, for whom, however, they had but few arms, their stock being already exhausted. From such an accession of a rude rabble to their force they derived but little aid, and being disappointed in this particular, and also in the expected reinforcements from France, they began to suspect, notwithstanding their late success, that they had been sent on a

Mode adopt-
ed by Corn-
wallis.

Motions of
Humbert.

CH A P. desperate errand, to annoy, not to conquer the enemies of
XXIV. their country. They resolved, however, to exert themselves
 with energy as long as they were able; and Humbert accordingly, having ordered the troops left at Killala to repair to the main body, commenced a rapid march, early in the morning of the fourth of September, from Castlebar, through Foxford, towards Sligo. In the meanwhile he was closely observed by different bodies of the royal troops, whose leaders strictly obeyed the instructions given them by the viceroy. Colonel Crawford with one body, supported by another under general Lake, hung upon the rear of the French; and general Moore, with a third, observed their motions at a greater distance; while Cornwallis, with the chief army, moved from Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, toward Carrick-on-Shannon, proceeding in nearly a parallel direction, and intending to regulate his subsequent motions by those of the enemy.

Battle of
Coloony.

Pursued by such forces from behind, the French leader found himself also opposed in front by an army under colonel Vereker of the city of Limerick militia, who had marched from Sligo with three hundred and thirty men, and two curricie guns. By this officer the hostile troops were met on the fifth of September, after they had passed the town of Coloony, in their way to Sligo, and an engagement took place in which the commander of each army was under a mistake, that tended ultimately to the advantage of the royal cause. The colonel, supposing himself contending with only the van-guard of the French, pressed with eagerness for the victory before the main body should arrive to its relief, and Humbert, conceiving the colonel's force to be the van-guard of a great army, attempted only to repulse, but not to surround him. After an unequal contest of about an hour, in which Vereker distinguished himself for his military spirit and skill, which was afterwards acknowledged by his opponent, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo, and afterwards retired with his little army to Ballyshannon.

Humbert's
march di-
verted.

On account of this spirited opposition from an inferior force, Humbert thought it expedient, as is supposed, to relinquish his design on Sligo, and therefore directed his

march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim. Eager to get forward with all expedition, he left behind him on the road three six-pounders dismounted, and threw five other pieces of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair. On approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking a southerly direction by Drunkerin, in order, as it was imagined, to make an attempt to reach Granard in the county of Longford, where an insurrection had taken place. In his endeavours to effect this, and during all his march, he got every possible assistance from the Irish peasantry, who not only supplied him with provisions in abundance, but also with horses to carry any of his soldiers that were fatigued. On the seventh his rear-guard had a skirmish with the advanced guard of Crawford, in which he had the advantage. At Ballintra he crossed the Shannon, and halting some hours in the night at Cloone, he arrived at Ballynamuck on the eighth of September, so closely pursued, with all the advantages he possessed, that his rear guard had been unable to break the bridge at Ballintra to impede the march of the troops that followed him. In the mean while the viceroy, with the grand army, having crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched before him by Mohill to Saint Johnstown in the county of Longford, in order to intercept him in front in the way to Granard. By this movement he was reduced to such a situation, that, if he should proceed, he must inevitably be surrounded by nearly thirty thousand men, commanded by a distinguished leader.

In his present hopeless situation, Humbert thought it would be for his credit to make some show of resistance, and therefore drew out his forces in a regular order of battle. Crawford now advanced and attacked the rear guard, amounting to about two hundred, who immediately laid down their arms. On this Lord Roden proceeded with a few dragoons within the lines of the rest of the enemy, in order, as he expected, to receive their surrender, but Humbert, still continuing to make a show of resistance, surrounded them and made them prisoners. He then detended himself for about half an hour, but surrendered when he saw the main body under general Lake approach. His troops

Surrendry
at Ballyna-
muck.

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were found, after surrendry, to consist of seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers, whose number he had augmented by promotions. Hence it appears, that he had lost from his first landing in Ireland two hundred and forty-six men. His Irish adherents, amounting to fifteen hundred, who had accompanied him to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, were pursued with slaughter, and about five hundred of them put to death.

Insurrec-
tion at
Granard.

The insurrection near Granard, which Humbert intended to second, but from which he was prevented by the arrangements of the viceroy, took place while the French were on their march from Castlebar. Their design was to make a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy, or even to afford them a commodious post, whence they might direct their operations against the metropolis. In order to accomplish their purpose, they had appointed to rise around Granard, to seize that post, and proceed thence with augmented force to attack the town of Cavan, where stores of arms and ammunition were deposited. Accordingly, the insurgents, consisting mostly of people from Westmeath, made an attempt to surprise Granard on the fifth of September, but were prevented by the seasonable arrival of captain Cottingham, a yeoman officer, who had made a rapid march from Cavan for that purpose, and with two hundred yeomen, advantageously posted, repelled, with considerable slaughter, an ill-armed mob of above two thousand rebels. On the sixth, the principal body, after they had plundered a charitable foundation called Wilson's hospital, proceeded to attack a party of yeomen and Argyll fencibles, posted under lord Longford, near the village of Bunbrusna, but with no better success, and by their defeat this petty insurrection was suppressed.

Contests in
Mayo.

The rebels in the county of Mayo, who had risen up to assist the invaders, were more obstinate in their resistance. On the twelfth of September, before they heard of the surrender of the French army, a large body of them made an attack on the town of Castlebar, occupied by the royal troops, and were with difficulty repulsed by captain Urquhart of the Frazer fencibles. After Humbert had with-

drawn his troops from Killala, as already mentioned, he left only three officers there, and one at Ballina, to command the insurgents who formed the garrisons of those towns. On the twelfth, these officers got intelligence of the fate of their army at Ballynamuck, but concealed it from the rebels, who were at length informed of it by some of their own party, who had escaped from the slaughter. Yet, strange as it may seem, fifteen days had elapsed after the event, before any part of the royal troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Killala. On the twenty-second of September, a body of these attacked the garrison of Ballina, under the command of a French officer called Truc, who fled with his party to Killala, the only post remaining in the hands of the insurgents. To this town, they were followed on the succeeding day by general French with his army, who was urged by the bishop to hasten his march from Castlebar, apprehensive for his own and his family's safety, from the increasing fury of the rebels.

The town of Killala was now on the point of being assailed, on one side by this army, and on another by an army consisting mostly of the Kerry militia, under Colonel Crosbie, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the knight of Kerry, who arrived as soon as the other one, though they had a league farther to march. The two columns advancing to the attack of the town, amounted to twelve hundred men, and were furnished with five pieces of artillery. The rebels were inferior in force, being not more than nine hundred, and yet they resolved to make a resistance. Accordingly, they posted themselves on a rising ground close to the town, on both sides of the road leading to Ballina, behind two stone walls, from which they could take a deliberate aim at the assailants. They thus fired on them as they passed, but with all the advantages they possessed, killed only one man, and wounded another, their shots flying over their heads. Hence it appears, that they had derived but little benefit from the drilling of the French officers, and that they were more untractable than their fellow-insurgents of Wexford, who were soon taught to take a fatal aim. Forced from their ill-defended post by a flanking fire, they took to flight, and being pursued through the town by the cavalry,

C H A P. they were met at the other side by the Kerry militia, and
XXIV. assailed by the cannon shot, as they ran to the shore. Exposed thus to death in every direction, about four hundred of them were slain.

Such severities were naturally inflicted on those who had joined the foreign enemy, but in some cases the military were so much agitated and confused as not to make a distinction between the innocent and the guilty. One very distressing instance occurred at this time. The protestants of a village called Carrowcarden being made prisoners by a party of insurgents, and found with them by a body of the military, under lord Portarlington, on their march from Sligo to Killala, were unfortunately put to death. On this unhappy occasion, the military no doubt laboured under a mistake; but it was found, that when they came to Killala, they plundered both loyalists and disaffected alike, and in their rapacity differed in no respect from the rebels, except that they seized upon property with less ceremony and excuse.* Of these acts, the prince of Wales's fencibles were free, but the conduct of the generality was so glaring, that the lord-lieutenant, as soon as the country was reduced to quiet, sent two commissioners to Killala, to ascertain the damages done by the king's troops, and consequently all authenticated claims were discharged in full, in March following, by an order on the national bank.

Previous
 transactions
 there.

For thirty-two days was the town of Killala in possession of the French and rebels, and since the former had been ordered away on the first of September, no Frenchmen were left there, except three officers called Charost, Boudet, and Ponson. The situation of these officers was indeed very critical, and they exerted themselves in such a manner, as entitled them to high commendation. On the first entry of the French into the bishop's palace, one of their officers gave the table-spoons, and other articles lying there, into the charge of the butler, and they took care, as much as in their power, that private property should be preserved safe. However, having brought no money along with them, they of course demanded regular contributions, for the payment

* Narrative of the Bishop of Killala.

of which, they at first gave orders on the Irish Directory, C H A P.
XXIV. that was to be soon established; but in a few days they quit playing that farce. From this plan of public pillage adopted by the French, little injury was sustained, in comparison of that occasioned by the private pillage of the Irish peasantry who joined them. Of this the protestants, or loyalists, in the county of Mayo, who suffered from their rapacity, had the unhappy experience.

As long as the French troops continued in Killala, their rapacity was curbed, at least in some degree, but when these were called off to join their countrymen on the first of September, they were then under less restraint. The three French officers left behind exerted themselves, indeed, as much as in their power, to protect the protestants, as did also an Irish catholic named O'Donnel, who had joined the invading army, and their exertions were no doubt in many instances attended with success. By directions of the French, the country was divided into departments, and over each of these was placed an officer with a guard for the preservation of the peace, who were all catholics; for the Irish peasantry, though solicited by the French officers, would not allow a single protestant to carry arms. The catholics selected as officers of the guard, were generally persons the most decent in character and circumstances, of whom some were not considered, by accepting that employment, to have taken up arms against the government. Yet all these precautions were too often ineffectual; for every night the guards admitted their rebel friends to plunder the protestants, and not a day passed but some of these unhappy people came with complaints to Charost, the French commanding officer at Killala, of the depredations they had suffered, though they had protections from him, which they returned, as being of no service. Shocked at the frequent repetition of such acts, he would often whisper to the bishop, "that no consideration should prevail on him again to trust himself to such a horde of savages as the Irish".* Many a night's sleep was lost by these generous French officers in their endeavours to protect the protestants, which might be successful in some de-

* Narrative, p. 183.

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gree in the neighbourhood of Killala, but not at all in the distant parts of the county. The rebels imagined, that the property of the protestants belonged entirely to them, and accordingly a priest asked the commanding officer for the bishop's library, but he told him that the bishop's library was as much his property now as before.

At first the rebels were content with depredations, but when they heard of the surrendry of the French at Ballynamuck, instead of being more tame, they became more fierce and desperate, and with more than usual violence cried out for vengeance on the protestants. They insisted on their being put in confinement, and kept as hostages to suffer by retaliation for the insurgents hanged by the king's troops; but that fatal measure was prevented by the address of the bishop.

Rebels in
Connaught
not sanguinary.

He proposed that a clergyman of the established church, dean Thompson, a loyalist, and Roger Macguire, a rebel chieftain, should go to Castlebar with a flag of truce, and carry a letter from him to general French, the commanding officer of the royal troops there, expressing the desire of the protestants at Killala, that no cause should be given, from the treatment of the prisoners at Castlebar, to provoke reprisals. Accordingly they set out and returned on the evening of the twenty-first of September, having obtained the object of their journey. The dean happily got an opportunity of a little private conversation with the general, who sent a letter suitable to his wish to the bishop "assuring him that his prisoners were and should be treated with "all possible tenderness and humanity." This letter being publicly read to the multitude, and left in their hands, served to suspend their violent resolution until the protestants were freed from danger by the arrival of the royal army on the twenty-third. It was indeed a fortunate circumstance, and much to the honour of Connaught, "that not a drop "of blood was shed by the rebels of that province except "in the field of battle." This was certainly in a great degree owing to the example and exertions of the French, who had a powerful influence over those that rose up to support them, but this influence must have been weaker in the places

more remote from their presence, and here the rebels were of-course more left to the bent of their natural inclinations.*

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The three generous French officers, who exerted themselves so strenuously in preserving the lives of the protestants, were treated with the respect and attention to which they were entitled. They were allowed to wear their swords, forwarded to London, and supplied with what money they wanted for their draft on Niou, the commissary of French prisoners. On their arrival at that city they were ordered to be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange, which was not accepted.

Indul-
gence to
French of-
ficers.

Treatment very different awaited their Irish adherents. Trials and executions commenced, of course; and among the numbers of chiefs and inferior insurgents put to death, two Irishmen suffered that came over with the invading army, Mathew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling, whose fate was much lamented, as they joined the French officers in their active exertions to preserve the lives and properties of the protestants. Roger Macguire, who went on the embassy to Castlebar, was with difficulty saved from death, and, after long imprisonment, was transported to Botany-bay.

Execu-
tions.

Another Irishman, with a French commission in his pocket, made a new attempt at this time to excite disturbance. This was the noted James Napper Tandy, who came in a brig from France, that landed him, with the rest of its crew, on the little island of Rutland, near the north-west coast of Donegal, on the sixteenth of September. Immediately on their landing they distributed their manifestos, in which Tandy was particularly active, who bore the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed, however, of the surrendry of Hambert's little army, and unable to excite any insurrection by their manifestos, they soon re-embarked, and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburgh by some British agents, supported by the influence of the emperor of Russia. He was tried at Lifford, at the spring assizes for

Manifestos
of Tandy.

* That no murders were committed by the rebels in Connaught was owing, Mr Gordon says, to the people not being exasperated there by military tortures; but he seems to have forgotten that he owned in another part of his history, that there was no provocation of this sort was given in the county of Wexford, the dismal scene of such massacre.

CHAP. XXIV. 1801, and pleaded guilty. Though he was of course condemned, it was thought fit, as he had been arrested on a neutral territory, to allow him to emigrate to France, where he died in a short time after. Thus, by the bustle made about him, he was raised to a degree of consequence, which he would not have otherwise attained.

A second
invasion
prevented.

The declaration of the French at Killala, that a much larger armament was to follow theirs, turned out to be the fact. This principal armament, which was delayed by want of money, at length made its appearance, on the eleventh of October, near the coast of Donegal, consisting of one ship of the line, named the *Hoche*, and eight frigates, with four or five thousand soldiers. Being discovered, they were pursued by the British squadron, under Sir John Borlace Warren, overtaken the next day, and forced to an engagement. Compelled by necessity, they made a desperate resistance, but were at length completely defeated. The *Hoche* was captured, and the frigates attempted to escape, but six were taken in the chase.

Death of
Theobald
Wolfe
Tone.

Aboard the former was found Mathew Tone's brother, Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of talents, who distinguished himself by his activity in promoting the designs of the United Irishmen, and, at the very commencement of the scheme, wrote a very able pamphlet in its defence. He was tried by a court-martial in Dublin, and on his trial neither pretended to deny the charge against him, nor even to excuse his political conduct, but rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of that country. Being condemned, he requested to be shot as a soldier, not hanged as a felon, and on the refusal of this request, he cut his own throat in the prison. The operation being not completely performed, he lingered for some time, and at length died of his wound on the nineteenth of November.

A third at-
tempt at
invasion.

The French government continued still to make their attempts upon Ireland, to which they had been so strongly urged by the traitorous society in the country. Accordingly, a third squadron of three frigates, with two thousand men for land service, destined to co-operate with the others, anchored in the bay of Killala on the twenty-seventh of Oc-

tober; but on the appearance of some hostile ships, they set sail with all speed, and got home in safety. C H A P.
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This was their last attempt to further the rebellion, which was at length completely crushed, though the spirit of disaffection still continued. The prevalence of this unhappy spirit is evident from the commotion excited by the landing of a few Frenchmen, their continuance so long in hostile array, and their march of a hundred and fifty English miles through the kingdom, in defiance of an hundred thousand royal troops of various descriptions, commanded by a viceroy of great military talents. Immediately on their surrender, he thought it expedient, from the rebellious disposition of the country, to return without delay to the metropolis, to prevent insurrection in that quarter, which accounts for the long time taken by the troops in bringing relief to the loyalists of Killala. Rebellion
suppress-
ed.

To alleviate the distresses of persons of that description, both government and parliament showed at this time a very laudable desire. Soon after the commencement of the rebellion, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was voted by the House of Commons, for the immediate relief of such refugees as should appear destitute of the means of subsistence. For the distribution of this sum very respectable commissioners were appointed, who would not allow any claimant to receive more than fifty pounds. After this temporary relief was afforded, government extended their views still farther in the same line, and accordingly an act of parliament was passed for the compensation of suffering loyalists. By this act suitable modes were adopted to prevent imposition as much as possible, though it might in some cases have still taken place. Compensa-
tion to suf-
fering loy-
alists.

The various claims amounted on the whole to the sum of a million and twenty-three thousand pounds, of which five hundred and fifteen thousand was sought by individuals in the county of Wexford. The loss of above a million was sustained by persons excluded by their conduct from compensation, who of course sent no estimate. So that the entire loss of all parties might have amounted to nearly three millions. Amount of
loss sustain-
ed.

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Other effects of the rebellion.

To the destruction of property must be added the loss of lives, the suspension of industry, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit in pecuniary transactions, and, above all, the depravation of morals. Men devoid of principle had then a full opportunity of gratifying their vicious inclinations; the worst passions of human nature had then an open field for exercise. Murder, assassination, a delight in human misery, was, alas! too prevalent; men's feelings, by the scenes of torture daily exhibited, became at length obtuse and callous. By rapine and perjury, especially in claims for losses, some gained more than they ever were worth, while others of tender consciences got a very inadequate compensation. Beside the injuries suffered by individuals, the public finances of the country were materially affected by the rebellion. In two years after its suppression the funded debt of Ireland was increased above twenty millions. It may not be inapt to conclude this account with an observation already made, but naturally suggested by the occasion, that for all the calamities of various kinds with which this unhappy rebellion has been attended, the instigators and abettors of it are accountable in the sight of God and man.

Under pretence of seeking a reform in parliament, an object so eagerly desired for many years, was the society of United Irishmen at first established, but the leaders of this society soon quitted their original design, and for the sake of some speculative advantages, or through motives of ambition, formed the scheme of rebellion, of which the sad effects have been already delineated. Yet a reform in parliament, however desirable for England, was considered by some temperate persons, attached to the real interests of their country, by no means adapted for Ireland, on account of the diversity of its condition with respect to religious sects. Persons of that description began at length, on mature reflection, to think, that the best change that could take place, for the purpose of combining the strength of the sister islands, so necessary in their perilous situation, would be, however grating to national vanity, the establishment of a legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland.

Though government was extremely desirous of effecting that great object, yet they did not think it advisable to take the nation by surprise, and accordingly, on the suppression of the rebellion, a pamphlet was published by the under secretary, Edward Cooke, styled "Arguments for and against a union between Great Britain and Ireland considered." Thus was the question fairly introduced to public discussion, and as government, it was supposed, by this means, declared their sentiments in favour of the measure, a vehement controversy was excited, in the course of which, beside the newspaper essays, no less than thirty pamphlets were issued from the Irish press before the end of December 1798. Counties, cities, towns declared their sentiments on the subject; generally against the union, but the city of Dublin, as was natural, was particularly averse to it, apprehensive of the injury that would be sustained from the cessation of such a concourse of people as attended the sitting of parliament. The lawyers were also generally of the same opinion, and at a public meeting a resolution was carried by a great majority condemning it as "a dangerous innovation." In forming their opinion, however, private interest might have had some influence, as many of them got into the Irish House of Commons, and brought themselves into notice by their activity in political contests; but of such an opportunity they would be deprived by the removal of the parliament to England, on account of their necessary attendance in the Irish courts.

Of all other public bodies, however, the proceedings of the Irish parliament are entitled to the chief attention. Having met on the twenty-second of January 1799, the viceroy in his speech brought the subject of union regularly before them, by recommending to their particular consideration the most effectual means of "consolidating into one firm and lasting fabric the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire." In the house of lords the address approving of the measure of union was carried by a great majority; but in the commons it was opposed with acrimony and violence, and even menaces of armed resistance. During the course of the session the subject was discussed in different ways, but, though the unionists were

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The union.

1799.

CHAP. foiled in some questions, yet as the session advanced they had
XXIV. rather a majority. It was not attempted, however, to bring
 the business to a final discussion at that time. In the mean-
 while government exerted themselves with great activity,
 and tampered with members of parliament, applying their
 all-powerful influence to induce them to support their fa-
 vourite object. Some violent opposers, who could not con-
 sistently vote for it, were *prevailed on* to resign their seats,
 that others more pliable might be elected in their room.
 Hence may be accounted for the question of union obtain-
 ing a small majority towards the end of the session. Those
 who were induced to resign their seats usually accepted a
 petty place called the *escheatorship of Munster*, by which
 their seats became vacant. The Dublin mob, during the
 debates on the union, insulted the members who supported
 it, and attacked their houses, calling them enemies to their
 country. In the British house of parliament the same sub-
 ject was also introduced, but the scheme proposed met with
 less opposition than in Ireland, and a series of resolutions
 were passed recommending a complete union.

Not only during the session, but after its conclusion, was
 the influence of government applied in procuring friends to
 support this measure, for which the public money was la-
 vishly distributed at the time, and engagements were also
 made, both civil, ecclesiastical and military. Hence their
 success in making proselytes. The enemies of the union
 were also as active as possible, but they were not supplied
 with the same powerful means.

1800. At the meeting of the Irish parliament in January 1800
 it was shown which party had applied their time to most
 advantage, for a motion hostile to the union was rejected
 by a majority of forty two. Various other petitions were now
 presented to the house, the generality, as usual, against the
 union, though a few were in its favour, of which the one
 from the town of Galway was most remarkable for the
 strong arguments it contained. Of the supporters of the
 union the most conspicuous was the lord chancellor, John
 Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare, and of the opposers the right
 honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons.
 The celebrated Henry Grattan, who had some time seced-

were at one time a hundred and sixteen placemen and pen-
ed, got a seat in the house in order to oppose it. Both
among those who opposed, and those who supported the
union, were to be found honest men, friends to their coun-
try, but the motives of the generality of those who opposed
it was a desire to retain or possess a monopoly of power. It
may be now necessary to give in a few words the principal
arguments that were used either for or against this measure.

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Those who argued against the union observed, that Ire-
land would thus be degraded from its dignity, and deprived
of its independent legislature, which it acquired, after such
glorious struggles, by the settlement of 1782; that a local
parliament, best acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and
dispositions of their fellow-subjects, would be better capable
of promoting their interests than a foreign legislature, un-
acquainted with the state of the people, and too distant to
receive information; that the Irish members of the impe-
rial parliament, like the present Scottish members, would
become tools of administration; that absentees would be
greatly increased, and of course the drain of money out of
the country; that whatever concessions should be granted for
such sacrifices might not be durable, as the compact of
union might be cancelled by means of the great majority of
English members in the imperial parliament.

In answer to these arguments the friends of union ob-
served, that this boasted independence was rather nominal
than real, for though Ireland, by the settlement of 1782,
got its parliament independent, yet it could seldom or never
exercise it, at least with safety, for when there are two
seemingly independent legislatures under the same crown,
that of the great country must rule, and the other must fol-
low; or if there should be a disagreement, as in the case of
the regency, there is a danger of the feeble connection be-
tween the two kingdoms being broke asunder, and the fatal
effects of disunion have been recently exhibited in the seve-
ral countries by means of it deprived of their liberties; that
the English parliament would not be so illiberal as not to
attend to the information given by the Irish members re-
specting their country; that the Irish members in the im-
perial parliament could not be more subservient to govern-
ment than the local parliament had been, in which there

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sioners ; that though absentees might be increased, this disadvantage would be counterbalanced by the increase of trade, and the stability Ireland would acquire by a close connection with the sister country ; that commercial jealousies, the principal impediment of Ireland's prosperity, would be removed ; that the claims of the catholics would be more candidly discussed than in a local parliament, where prejudices are more prevalent ; and that the honour of the British parliament had been proved by its conduct towards Scotland, which derived such essential advantage from the union.

The arguments in favour of this measure, when supported by the influence of government, had the desired effect, and the bill of union was carried in the commons by a majority of sixty,* and without a division in the lords. On the first of August it received the royal assent, which had been previously afforded to a bill of a similar kind in the British parliament.

As by the act of union the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland were incorporated, so was also the church of the latter with that of England or South Britain. By the arrangement made according to the wealth and population of the sister islands, one hundred commoners was adjudged an adequate representation of the people of Ireland in the imperial parliament, two for each county, two for each of the cities of Dublin and Cork, one for the university, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities and towns. To each of the owners of the disfranchised boroughs the sum of fifteen thousand pounds was allotted as a compensation, and the public money assigned entirely to this purpose amounted to twelve hundred and sixty thousand pounds. Twenty-eight lords temporal, elected for life, was the number appointed to represent the Irish peerage, and four prelates, taking their places by rotation, to represent the clergy. The first day of January 1801, being the first day of the nineteenth century, was the time fixed for the act of union to take effect, by means of which the two kingdoms should coalesce into one.

As one country was quite superior to the other in trade, and of course in ability to pay taxes, it was determined by

* Aves 160—Noes 100—60.

the articles of union, that the revenue to be levied should be fixed at the proportion of fifteen for Great Britain, and two for Ireland, during the twenty years next ensuing, and that at the expiration of that period, the imperial parliament should be allowed to modify that proportion on the same principle. With respect to commerce it was determined, on the whole, that the two countries should be on an equal footing, as proposed in the original commercial propositions of 1785, and that they should mutually give each other the preference.

Notwithstanding the settlement of the union. Ireland has still a viceroy and separate exchequer.* Her agriculture and trade have since considerably increased, and the commercial jealousies of the English have been partly removed. Her revenue has also increased, and national debt to a great degree, occasioned by a war of unusual durability and expense. Many of the disadvantages apprehended from the union did not in reality take place, and even Dublin has not been affected as much as might be supposed, by being deprived of the concourse of people that were usually attracted by parliament. Remarks on it.

As the union, however useful on the whole, might tend to lessen the consequence of some great Irish families, who were in the habit of obtaining, by their influence in their own country, posts of honour and profit for themselves and their dependents, it is no wonder if some of these were so averse to the measure as to reject with disdain all the overtures made by government to overcome their hostility. Others, indeed, on weighing the case maturely, became more flexible, but it was no doubt for valuable considerations, either emolument actually obtained, or the solemn promise on the first opportunity. Hence the appointment of union judges, as they were called, union generals and colonels, union bishops and deans, &c. &c. In the church especially, engagements were made that could not be fulfilled for some years. In compliance with these engagements, the Irish episcopal bench has been dignified by eminent persons of high titles, most of whom were honourable and reverend previous to their appointment, and some even lords by

* The English and Irish exchequers have lately, for very essential reasons, been formally united.

CHAP. XXIV. courtesy. Very different in station from the humble instructors employed at the first introduction of the gospel!

In this point some persons were mistaken, who thought, that, after the union took place, "there would be more instances than ever of Englishmen being preferred to natives of superior merit, in the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices."* However, this has not turned out to be entirely the case, for, after the establishment of this measure, the preference has been given to Irishmen, but those Irishmen, it is true, were of a particular description. It will be found, that even after the engagements made at the union were supposed to be fulfilled, the same mode was continued of conferring the Irish ecclesiastical preferments, almost exclusively, on the younger sons of the Irish nobility and gentry, who certainly, from their habits of life, are not inclined to the grave study of divinity, or literary pursuits. But the Irish government find it more for their advantage to attach to their side men of fortune, than men of literature.† They have conferred, it is true, episcopal dignities or deaneries on a few favourite fellows of the university, for they *supposed* all literary merit to be confined within the walls of the college, but this was only a partial encouragement; and it will be found that the few works published by those learned persons, are not usually written in a style that would attract the generality of readers.

Literature. With works of literature Ireland certainly does not abound, for book-making is a trade not followed in this country; but it has been observed, that hardly any one ventures to write a book here without having at least some pretensions to make the attempt, which is not the case in England, where so many hundreds mistake their capacities in this point. From the criticisms of the Reviewers, it appears, that immense quantities of literary trash, both in poetry and prose, but especially in the former, are issued every year from the British press. Still we must acknowledge, that many excellent books are at present published in Great

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion, p. 353.

† The Englishmen, who had been promoted to Irish bishopricks, on account of being tutors to the English nobility, as was formerly the case, were found in several instances to afford due encouragement to literary merit among the Irish clergy. But the system is now changed.

Britain, where the taste for composition is more chaste than in Ireland. The Irish style is indeed not so simple as the English, and is too often interlarded with false ornament; but the orators at the public meetings are most extravagant in this instance, and by this extravagance they unhappily attain their object, so corrupt is the public taste; for the more their speeches abound with similes, metaphors, tropes, and figures, however absurd and inconsistent, they are the more applauded by their audience—

“ For rhetoric he could not ope

“ His mouth, but out there flew a trope.”

Plain argument, and the simple language of nature, is considered as a common attainment, and disregarded by those declaimers, who are carried away by flights of imagination, and constantly aiming at the sublime and beautiful. The excessive fondness for figurative language, which in fact is the language of barbarians, prevails too much at the Irish bar, and even infects some of the Irish orators in the imperial parliament.

In talent and industry the Irish are certainly not inferior to their neighbours, and no doubt many of them would exert themselves to attain perfection in literature, if they found it for their advantage. But in reality no encouragement is given to domestic literature, not only by the government, but even by the people themselves. For unhappily a prejudice prevails among them against every production of their own country, and if any Irishman of talents attain celebrity by his publications, he must have acquired it in England, and not at home. In fact the people have no opinion of their own in matters of literature, and in this point are entirely directed by the prevalent taste of England and Scotland, which of late has been found out, in many cases, to be capricious and depraved. Any work of fashion in those countries, though its fame be ever so undeserved, of course meets a ready reception in Ireland. If the rage of the day in Great Britain be for wild stories taken from the German language, for poetic translations from the Italian or Spanish, for old tales in rude rhyme of fierce warriors and hapless lovers, of steel-clad knights and barons bold, the infection is easily spread through Ireland. The Irish public admire,

CHAP. applaud, and purchase. It is true a violent party work
XXIV. published here, especially if fraught with religious animosity, may acquire a temporary sale, which is a melancholy exception. But lest a native historian may seem to be influenced by disappointed expectations, it may be more candid to conclude with the observations of a liberal Englishman on the same subject.

“ The University, the Royal Irish Academy, and the
 “ Dublin Society, which is an excellent national establishment for the general encouragement of science, being in
 “ this metropolis, it might be expected, that it is here we
 “ should find a considerable number of literary men ; but
 “ this is not the case. In England, Scotland and France
 “ science and literature elevate men of the humblest birth
 “ to respect and attention. In Ireland the custom is different ; there a man of talent, however exalted his genius,
 “ or extensive his learning, is neither sought after nor esteemed. As a candidate for public favour he will never
 “ succeed against the trifler of upper life, whose productions
 “ are puffed into notice by the partial breath of titled friendship. Fashion bears sovereign sway, to which the whole
 “ Irish nation bow—A desire to produce a reformation of
 “ the obstacles to national improvement obliges me to state,
 “ that the Irish are illiberally jealous of rising merit among
 “ themselves. They encourage not the youth of genius,
 “ whose talents, if fostered and protected, might be the
 “ source of improvement to their country. A young Irishman of ability must seek his reward in England, the
 “ chilling breath of neglect will blast his buds at home.”*

* Wakefield's Statistical and Political Account of Ireland. Vol. ii. page 786.

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